

MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST *

BY R. B. SERJEANT

CHAPTER XVII

TEXTILES AND THE ʿĪRĀZ IN SPAIN

ACCORDING TO IBN KHALDŪN, DURING THE rule of the Umayyads, and that of the minor dynasties which rose on the ruins of their domination, the ʿĪrāz-system found its way to Spain. There are two other authors to support this statement. *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*¹ informs us that “‘Abd al-Raḥmān innovated the ʿĪrāz-factories, and expanded their manufacture, and stamped coinage in Cordova.” (Map I.) While Suyūṭī,² speaking of the ‘Abd al-Raḥmān who succeeded in the year 206 H. (821 A.D.), says: “In his reign, the wearing of embroidered garments (lib̄s muṭarrāz) was first introduced, and Spanish dirhams were struck.”

Ibn Ḥawqāl³ is able to assure us (367 H.

* I should like here, in the final installment of this work, to take the opportunity of thanking Dr. Richard Ettinghausen for his assistance in putting it into print, assistance which has far exceeded the normal functions of an editor. During the war, when circumstances made it extremely difficult to continue any academic work, Dr. Ettinghausen rewrote all the footnotes to Part I of this study, looking up and checking the references; it was this laborious and boring task which enabled me to rewrite the remaining footnotes in their present form. I should also like to thank him for his untiring patience in dealing with an overseas contributor under the trying conditions of wartime, and his unflagging care for accuracy and detail.

¹ Ibn ‘Adhārī, *Histoire de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne*. . . . *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. R. P. A. Dozy (Leyden, 1848–51), II, 93.

² Al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā’*, trans. by H. S. Jarret (Calcutta, 1881), p. 547, ed. S. Lee and Maulawi ‘Abdalhaqq (Calcutta, 1857), p. 539.

³ Ibn Ḥawqāl, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. by J. H. Kramers, 2d ed. (Leyden, 1938–39), p. 110.

[978 A.D.]) that “in Andalus there is more than one ʿĪrāz-factory, the products of which go to Egypt (Miṣr) and sometimes some are taken to the utmost limits of Khurasan and elsewhere.” In the preceding chapter, these Spanish textiles have been noticed among the lists of gifts of the Fatimid rulers to their employees. For instance a piece (shikḥa) of Andalusian siqlātūn is cited as one of the articles of clothing regularly given away at the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast,⁴ and again furnishings of Djahram and Andalusian carpets (busuṭ) are mentioned at their court (518 H. [1124 A.D.]). Thus in the intervening period between ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Ibn Ḥawqāl, the textile industries of Spain must have made progress, for in the earlier works there is little mention of the country.

If we are to judge by the following passage of Maḳḳārī,⁵ Spain was a somewhat backward country and it was the eastern culture which so influenced an industry which ultimately exported its wares not only to the primitive Europe of the day, but also to the great Muslim capitals of the east. In 206 H. (821 A.D.), the singer Ziryāb came from Iraq to settle in Cordova. He was already a personage of some note in his profession, and being soon taken into favor, he introduced many fashions from the polite world of Baghdad into this remote province of Islam:

The people of Andalus learnt from him to use vessels of fine glass, in preference to those of gold and silver, and to use coverings (farsh) of leather mats

⁴ Maḳḳārī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 427 and 474.

⁵ Maḳḳārī, *Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), II, 88. See H. G. Farmer, “Ziryāb,” *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913–38), Suppl. pp. 266–67.

(antā'), soft and pliable, instead of covers (milḥaf) of linen, and his choice of leather for setting food upon, rather than wooden tables, because grease can be removed from leather with the lightest rubbing.

At different times of the year, he introduced certain changes of clothing for the man of fashion:

For he thought that people should begin to wear white clothing and leave off colored garments from the day of Mihradjān of that country, called by them 'Ansara, which is on the sixth day before the end of June . . . and that they should wear it until the first of the month of October . . . and for the remainder of the year, they should wear colored garments. He was of the opinion too, that in the season between summer and winter (which they call Rabi'), they should wear dyed clothes, of such kinds as gowns (djubba) of khazz-silk, mulḥam-stuff, and silken cloth (muḥarrar), and shirts (durra'a) without linings, because they were close to the time when they would be permitted to enjoy clothes of a white exterior. They used to change into these latter on account of their lightness and contrast with the coarse clothes (or padded stuffs miḥshā) worn by the vulgar. He was of the opinion too that, towards the end of summer and the beginning of autumn, they should wear coarse garments (miḥshā) of Merv, garments of a single color (muṣmat), and light colored clothes with padding and thick linings of a similar kind when the cold was very sharp in the mornings, until it grew very cold so that they had to change into thick clothing with the added protection of fur when needed.

These mulḥam garments were especially famous under the Caliph al-Mutawakkil in Baghdad about half a century later.⁶ The name Merv as applied to the stuffs here, has probably nothing to do with the city of that name, but is merely used as a description of the kind of cloth in a very loose sense.

*Al-Bayān al-Muḡhrib*⁷ supplies the first details of the spread of the system. In the year 313 H. (925 A.D.), in the time of the Caliph al-Nāṣir, "the page, Khalaf the elder, was put in charge of the ʿtirāz." Though not directly

connected with the history of the ʿtirāz-system in Spain, it might be interesting to set forth a catalogue of textiles in a gift made to al-

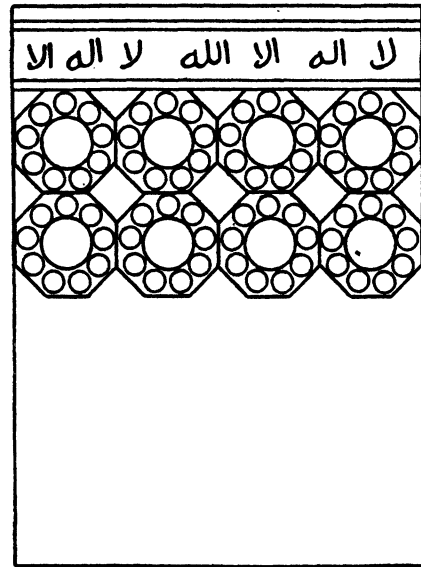


FIG. 1—RECONSTRUCTION OF PATTERN

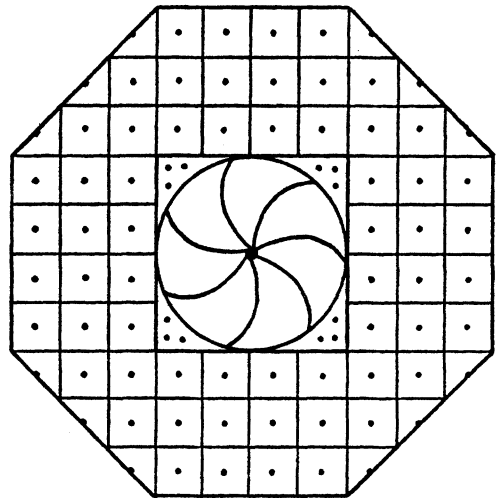


FIG. 2—SCHEME OF ROOF OF DOME OF THE ROCK

Nāṣir in 327 H. (939 A.D.). Maḡḡarī⁸ copied out this list from two authors, Ibn Khaldūn, and Ibn al-Faraḡī, and they vary quite considerably.

⁶ See Chapter II.

⁷ Ibn 'Adḡarī, *op. cit.*, text, II, 203, trans. by E. Fagnan (Alger, 1901-4), II, 315.

⁸ Maḡḡarī, *op. cit.*, I, 229 ff.

Ibn Khaldūn

Thirty pieces (shikḳa) of silk (ḥarir), checked (mukḥattam)⁹ inscribed (marḳūm) with gold, for the wearing of caliphs, of various colors and manufactures.

Ten furs of the valuable marten (fanak) skins of Khurasan.

Ten ḳinṭārs of bundles containing a hundred sable-skins.

Six Iraq tents (surādīk). Forty-eight Baghdad milḥaf-covers for the trappings for his horses, of silk and gold.

⁹ Ibn Djubair, *The Travels of Ibn Djubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907), V, 191. Here curtains are described which were "lapis-lazuli (lāzwardī) in color, checked (mukḥattam) with white checks (khātam), both octagonal and quadrilateral (muṭhamman, murabba'). Inside the checks there were round circles and white dots (nuḳṭa) surrounding it. . . . On the top there was an inscription (rasm) inclining to white." Figure 1 is the suggested pattern of such a curtain. This seems to contain the Sasanian pearl-pattern. See N. A. Reath and E. B. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and their Technique* (New Haven, 1937), pp. 44, 46, 48, 49. Ibn Djubair describes these mukḥattam stuffs as being similar to the roof of the Dome of the Rock (*Fig. 2*).

¹⁰ Read nakhakh or Kandji? See Chapter XVI, II, footnote 22.

¹¹ This type of stuff figures elsewhere.

Ibn al-Faraḍī

Thirty pieces (shikḳa) of different kinds of garments, and royal Kh n dj¹⁰ stuff for his wear both white and colored, and five royal (khāṣṣī) Shu'aibi tunics (zihāra) for him.

Ten furs of expensive marten, seven being white from Khurasan and three colored.

Six Iraq royal mitraf-cloaks for him.

Forty-eight Zahrī milḥaf-mantles for his apparel (kiswa).

One hundred Zahrī coverlets¹¹ (milḥafa) for his bed.

Ten ḳinṭārs of bundles containing a hundred sable (sammūr) skins.

Four thousand raṭls of spun silk.

A thousand raṭls of a kind of pure silk for weaving.

Thirty pieces of buzyūn silk¹² (a kind of brocade) for saddles, for gifts.

Thirty woollen carpets (bisāt) of different manufactures, each being of a length of 20 dhirā' of various colors.

A hundred pieces (ḳiṭ'a) of prayer-carpet (muṣallayāt) of various different kinds of carpeting

Fifteen carpet-strips (naḳḳh) half of them made of cut (maḳṭū') khazz-silk.

Saddles of Dja'fari khazz-silk.

Idem (ḥarir maghzūl).

Idem.

Concerning the aforementioned silk Ibn al-Faraḍī adds that he derived this from the Ṣāhib al-ṭirāz, and he did not bring it with the present, but merely gave it to the Ṣāhib al-ṭirāz (controller of the ṭirāz-factories) who entered it in his accounts.

Thirty wollen carpets of different manufactures, each being a length of 20 dhirā'.

A hundred pieces of prayer carpets of various kinds of carpeting, manufactures of a kind of large carpets (busuṭ).

Fifteen carpet-strips, half of them made of cut khazz-silk, the rest of them consisting of carpets (busuṭ) of different kinds.

Saddles of Iraq khazz-silk.

This list may serve to show the widespread interchange of goods in the Muslim world at this time. It is surprising to find furs coming all the way from Khurasan, especially as Spain itself was famous as fur-producing country. The Dja'fari stuffs may be called after the Dja'fari gold, i.e., pure gold, which was used in them.¹³

¹² Reading thus with the footnote.

¹³ *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* of Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī

Maḳḳārī¹⁴ tells us, too, that under the rule of the vigorous and ambitious minister Manṣūr ibn Abī Āmir (366–93 H. [976–1002 A.D.]), in whose hands lay the real power, “Hishām the Mu’ayyad was not left with any more insignia of the caliphate other than the prayer in his name on the mimbars, and the inscription of his name on the coinage, and the ṭirāz-strips.” Curiously enough, a piece of cloth with his name has been preserved for us, cited by A. Grohmann in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*.¹⁵

The same author¹⁶ also informs us that, after a victorious campaign, Manṣūr gave away to the Christian princes and the Muslims who had helped him “two thousand two hundred and eighty-five pieces of various kinds of ṭirāzī silk (*shikḳa*), twenty-one pieces of seawool (*ṣūf al-baḥr*), two ‘anbarī (perfumed with ambergris) robes, eleven pieces of *siklātūn*, fifteen of striped stuff (*muraiyash*), seven carpets (*namaṭ*) of brocade, two garments of Rūmī brocade, and two marten (*fanak*) furs (387 H. [997 A.D.]).”

The first ṭirāz in Spain must have been that which was attached to the palace of the Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (206 H. [821 A.D.] in Cordova, but in such works as I have read, I have not been fortunate enough to come across any references to it. This may be due to the fact that Almeria soon outstripped Cordova in its manufactures according to a passage of Yāḳūt which will be cited in discussing the

former city. That it did make cloth is evident for Ibn Ḥawḳal¹⁷ says: “Travellers who have been to Baghdad say that it (Cordova) is like one of the sides of Baghdad,” and “It has excellent garments, and robes of soft linen, excellent *khazz*-silk and *qazz*-silk.” We do know too that al-Ḥakam II employed skilled workmen in transcribing books and binding them in his palace which would also imply the existence of further manufactures.

One of the first industrial cities of the Iberian peninsula was Almeria (Al-Mariya) renowned throughout Islam for its textiles. Some brief indication of its exports to the Christian countries may be found in Maḳḳārī¹⁸

There was a station for Christian ships there, and a place of assembly for their government (*diwān*), and from thence, their merchandise use to go to other countries. . . . It was also a factory (*maṣna’*) for the making of precious cloaks of figured silk (*ḥulal muwashshā*). . . . There was a manufacture of brocade there which no other country could surpass, and an arsenal (*dār al-ṣanā’a*). . . . A certain person said: “In Almeria there were 800 looms (*nawl*) for the weaving of ṭirāzī garments of silk (*ḥarīr*), and for precious cloaks (*ḥulla*), and splendid brocade a thousand looms, and the same number for *siklātūn*, and for *Djurdjāni* garments, *Iṣfahāni* stuffs, ‘Attābi, and marvellous veils (*mi’djar*), and curtains ornamented with precious stones (*sutūr mukallala*).” A certain person said: “There was no people in the land of Andalus richer than the inhabitants of Almeria nor with larger places for trading, and stores. The number of baths and hostleries (*funduḳ*) there came to about a thousand.”¹⁹

Maḳḳārī, in part at least, uses the same sources as al-Ḥimyārī:²⁰

Almeria was at the time of the Almoravids the town of Andalus (which had the widest relations

Persian text, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1911), XIV, 277. Abridged trans. by E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson (Leyden-London, 1914), p. 55, says; “Dja’far (the vizier of Harun al-Rashid) ordered that they should coin refined gold and silver, for previously they had struck base coinage; zar Dja’fari (Dja’fari gold) was called after him.”

¹⁴ Maḳḳārī, *op. cit.*, II, 258.

¹⁵ See “Ṭirāz,” *Encycl. Islām*, Supp., p. 249, and J. F. Riano, *The Industrial Arts in Spain* (London, 1875).

¹⁶ Maḳḳārī, *op. cit.*, I, 271.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 and 113.

¹⁸ Maḳḳārī, *op. cit.*, II, 148.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, I, 102.

²⁰ Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyārī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miṭār La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge*, ed. and trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal (Leyden, 1938), text, p. 184, trans., p. 222.

with the rest of the Muslim world); there were to be found there the most striking productions of craftsmanship. For the weaving of silk, it had 800 *ṭirāz*-factories. They made cloth there such as cloaks (*ḥulla*), brocades, *siqlātūn*, *Iṣfahānī*, *Djurdjānī*, curtains with vertical bands (*sutūr mukallala*),²¹ stuffs with patterns of circles (? *mu'aiyan*), the cloth called 'Attābī, and that which is called *fākhir*, in short all kinds of silk stuffs.

Al-Dimashqī²² writes: "It was frequented by merchants who went there to buy silk, and the tissues that were woven there. The inhabitants retired to Granada under the Almoravid dynasty" which captured it some time after the year 484 H. (1091 A.D.). Idrīsī's²³ account may be the source on which these previous extracts are founded:

There were to be found there (in the time of the Almoravids) all wonderful kinds of crafts, and they counted among others, eight hundred factories (*ṭirāz*) for silk (*ḥarir*) where they made precious mantles (*ḥulla*), brocades, *siqlātūn*, *Iṣfahānī*, *Djurdjānī*, curtains ornamented with precious stones (*sutūr mukallala*), cloth with patterns of circles,²⁴ small mats (*ḫumra*), 'Attābī, veils (*mi'djar*), and various other kinds of silk cloths. . . . Ships used to come to Almeria from Alexandria and Syria. . . . At the time when we are writing the present work (548 H. [1154 A.D.]) Almeria has fallen into the power of the Christians. Its comeliness has disappeared, the inhabitants have been enslaved, the houses and public buildings have been destroyed, and there is nothing left.

Yāqūt²⁵ differs but little, mentioning that

²¹ I have kept this rendering of the phrase *sutūr mukallala* which varies from the rendering of Maḳḳarī given above.

²² Al-Dimashqī, *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Âge*, trans. by A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 346.

²³ Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 197.

²⁴ The text has *mu'aiyab*, but the reading *mu'aiyan* is preferable here.

²⁵ Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866—

it is a noted port for ships:

Merchants sail from it, and their ships anchor there. It is a place of call, and a seaport for ships and vessels, against the walls of which the waves dash. Figured *washī*-stuff and brocade of excellent manufacture are made there. This was first made in Cordova but then Almeria outstripped it. In the land of Andalus there is not to be found a people who make more excellent brocade than those of Almeria.

Almeria actually fell into the hands of the Christians for the first time in the year 542 H. (1147 A.D.), but was retaken by the Almoravids in 552 H. (1157 A.D.). The Christians did not recover it again until 1489 A.D. Thus the passage of Idrīsī must refer to contemporary events, as he wrote three years before its reconquest.

Ḥimyarī²⁶ preserves an early item of information: "There were in the city of Badj-djāna (Pechina) eleven baths, and factories (*ṭirāz*) for the manufacture of silk (*ḥarir*) as well as prosperous trade." Pechina was later supplanted by its neighbor Almeria to which the inhabitants soon migrated. In the time of Idrīsī it was already in ruins, and as early as Ibn Ḥawḳal, Almeria was the capital of the province.

Another town in the system was Fīnyāna (the modern Fñana), in which according to Ḥimyarī²⁷ "there were factories (*ṭirāz*) for brocade stuffs." Ibn al-Khaṭīb²⁸ remarks that it is noted for its silk culture.

As might be expected, Seville (*Ishbiliya*) was also a famous weaving center of Spain.

73), IV, 517. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 177, trans. (Paris, 1847-83), I, 254, also mentions its silks. Cf. Kaḳḱashandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]) V, 217, on the authority of the *Masālik al-Absār* of 'Umari.

²⁶ Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 38, trans., p. 49.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, text, p. 144, trans., p. 172.

²⁸ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, trans. by F. J. Simonet (Madrid, 1860), p. 20.

The first hint of the existence of a *ṭirāz*-factory there is to be found in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*.²⁹ Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥadīdjādī revolted against the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān in the year 286 H. (899 A.D.). Our author informs us that "there were at Seville, factories (*ṭirāz*) where his name was embroidered on the stuffs, just as the sultan used to do at that time." It is quite likely that these factories were established by the Umayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself, but of course they may have been introduced by Ibrāhīm. This monarch built an arsenal there to protect Seville against the attacks of the Normans, and he may have established a factory at the same time.

Ḥimyarī³⁰ tells us that cotton grows well there. Not only does the output suffice for the needs of the whole of Andalus, but the merchants send it as far as Ifrikiya, Sidjilmāsa, and the neighboring countries. Maḳḳarī knew it chiefly by its steel, but adds that its manufactures are too many to mention. It was the 'Abbāside capital from 414 H. (1023 A.D.) until 484 H. (1091 A.D.) but once more became a provincial city and finally passed into the hands of the Christians in 646 H. (1248 A.D.).

Maḳḳarī³¹ quotes it several times for its famous dye-stuffs:

The best crimson (*ḳirmiz*) is the *ḳirmiz* of Andalus, and the most of that is in the districts of Seville, Labla, *Shadhūna*, and Valencia. From Andalus it is taken to all quarters. . . . In it (Seville) is collected the *ḳirmiz* which is of brighter hue than the Indian lac (*al-lakk al-Hindī*).³² . . . In Andalus one of the dusts which descends from the heavens is the *ḳirmiz* which descends upon the oak-tree, and the

inhabitants collect it from the time of intense heat,³³ and dye with it, and the red color which no red can surpass is produced from it.³⁴

As early as the second century of the Muslim era, *Djāḥiẓ*³⁵ tells us that this crimson is found in a district in the Maghreb in the land of Andalus, and that only a sect of the Jews knew how to find it. It was collected in the season of *Māh-Isfandārmudh*.

R. Pfister,³⁶ examining a number of Egyptian textiles found that this lac-dye was used in about equal quantities with madder, supplies of which had become hard to obtain in Egypt. Though it seems to have been so common, lac-dye is rarely mentioned in Arab authors. An extract from Birūnī (973 H. [1048 A.D.]) on this *lakk*, is however cited by Pfister:

C'est une gomme qui est générale sur un arbre jusqu' à couvrir le bois entièrement, et il y a comme des croûtes (*ḳirif*, ce qui désigne les excréments sèches du nez). Après l'avoir cuit, et en avoir sorti une matière colorante on l'appelle *al-lakk*; avec cela on teint les peaux qu'on appelle *al-lakka*.

Birūnī cites the words of Ibn Māsawaih (a doctor) at the court of Baghdad who died in 243 H. (857 A.D.) and he knew it as a drug, but does not mention it as a dye.

Another notice of some interest is to be found in the *'Ikd al-Djumān* of al-'Ainī (ob. 855 H. [1451 A.D.])³⁷ who tells us that

³³ I prefer to understand this word as a season, and not as a kind of fig as R. Dozy suggests. Cf. the passage of *Djāḥiẓ* which follows immediately.

³⁴ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 123.

³⁵ *Djāḥiẓ*, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. by Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 339.

³⁶ R. Pfister, "Matériaux pour servir au classement des textiles égyptiens postérieurs à la conquête arabe," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 6. He quotes Dr. Meyerhof in a private communication. This passage is from the *Kitāb al-Ṣaidala fi 'l-Ṭibb* (see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* [Weimar-Berlin, 1898-1902], I, 874-5). The article has many other interesting notes on dyes.

³⁷ *Homenajé a D. Francisco Codera*, con una in-

²⁹ Ibn 'Adhārī, *op. cit.*, text, II, 130, trans., II, 208.

³⁰ Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 21, trans., p. 27. In the rest of this chapter this author's name will be cited briefly as al-Ḥimyarī.

³¹ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.* I, 90.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 128.

"they extract from a mine about a parasang away from Seville, a powder which is used instead of indigo and is only found in this part of Spain, whence it is exported for the use of dyers."

Malaga (Mālaka) too had its ʿīrāz-factory, though not so famous as that of Almeria or Seville. Yāḳūt³⁸ knew that the city was famous for its cotton which was exported all over Andalus. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (713–76 H. [1313–74 A.D.]) knew that the "cloaks (ḥulla) of its brocade are the wonderful articles with the ʿīrāz-borders (taṭrīz)." ³⁹ But it is the voluminous Maḳḳarī⁴⁰ who fills the gap in our information:

In it are woven the cloaks of figured silk (al-ḥulal al-mawṣḥiya), the prices of which run into thousands. They have marvelous pictures (ṣūra) of a choice kind, with the names of the Caliphs and others (inscribed) upon them. Its coast is a trading-centre for the Muslims and Christians.

As an indication of the commercial importance of Malaga, it might be added that he claims that figs are exported thence to India and China. Though this might be one of those superb pieces of hyperbole in which oriental authors sometimes indulge when they wish to describe the excellence of any particular article, yet it may be fact. Ḳalkaṣḥandī⁴¹ on the authority of the *Masālik al-Aḥsār* says that "in its provinces, much silk is found."

Of Baṣṭa, the modern Baeza in the province of Granada, Ḥimyarī⁴² says: "There are on its territory many mulberry-trees (tūt) with

a production of silk. . . . It is at Baṣṭa that the ʿīrāz-factories are to be found for Baṣṭa carpets (al-wiṭā' al-Baṣṭi) made of brocade, which has no known equal." Yāḳūt⁴³ informs us that "to it are attributed the Baṣṭi prayer-carpet (muṣallayāt)." Ibn al-Khaṭīb⁴⁴ only knew it as famous for its preparation of saffron which, according to Ḳalkaṣḥandī⁴⁵ supplied the whole of Andalus.

Through the *Treatise on Ḥisba* ("Police-Regulations") of al-Saḳaṭi of Malaga, a work composed in the eleventh-twelfth century, we can form some notion of how general the custom of wearing ʿīrāzī garments was. A certain man had bought a slave-girl at Cordova, then the capital of Andalus (until the end of the fourth [tenth] century), and "he clothed her in a robe of brocade, and with a robe of ʿīrāzī silk, which the women of the Persians (? A'ādḡim) used to wear at that time." ⁴⁶ Besides this he gives an injunction to the Muḥtasib or officer of police: ⁴⁷ "The Muḥtasib must prevent the weavers of ʿīrāz from changing the inscription (rasm) on a robe at the fuller's, on account of the well-known practice of disreputable persons."

This passage is more easily understood in the light of the following extract from the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*: ⁴⁸

Repairers (raffā') may not repair a khazz-silk garment received from a fuller or cloth-beater (daḳḳāḳ) except in the owner's presence. Embroiderers (muṭarriz) and ornament-stitchers (raḳḳām) must not transfer embroidery (raḳm) from one garment

roducción de D. E. Saavedra (Zaragoza, 1904), p. 464.

³⁸ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 275.

³⁹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, p. 5. See M. J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber* (München, 1876), I, 5. Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, II, 260. Taṭrīz may simply mean "embroidery" here.

⁴⁰ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, II, 148, and I, 95.

⁴¹ Ḳalkaṣḥandī, *op. cit.*, V, 219.

⁴² Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 45, trans., p. 57.

⁴³ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 624.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴⁵ Ḳalkaṣḥandī, *op. cit.*, V, 221.

⁴⁶ Al-Saḳaṭi, *Un Manuel hispanique de Ḥisba*, ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), *Publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, XXI, 54 and 63.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

⁴⁸ Ibn al-Uḳhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 174.

to another which fullers or cloth-beaters bring them. . . . On each garment, the owner's name must be written.

These passages seem to refer to the pieces of embroidered braid stuck on to the cloth by sewing, though separate in themselves.

A number of very pretty verses used in the *ṭirāz*-bands by girls and lovers were known to the Spanish anthologist Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi⁴⁹ in the first half of the tenth century of the Christian era.

OTHER CITIES

Besides the imposing list of *ṭirāz*-cities—Cordova, Almeria, Baṣṭa, Fīnyāna, Seville, Malaga—all situated in the south of Spain, there was a flourishing industry in many other cities, though probably for the most part in private hands.

The passage from *Djāhīz*, concerning the *kirmiz*-dye in Spain has been cited supra, and it is interesting to notice that it was during his lifetime that *ṭirāzī* garments were introduced into Spain. Ibn al-Faḳīh (290 H./903 A.D.) counts Andalusian cloaks (*ḥulla*) among the wonderful things that are only to be obtained by the venturesomeness of merchants⁵⁰ and Abu 'l-Kāsim⁵¹ speaks of "rooms carpeted with mats (*zulliyya*) of the Maghreb" and "carpet-strips (*nakhkh*) of Andalus and Cordova." *Iṣṭakhṛī*⁵² informs us that: "Most of the things which come from it are Maghribī felts, riding-mules, ambergris, gold, honey, olive-oil, ships, silk, Maghribī saddle-cloths (*namad*) and the sable (*sammūr*)."

⁴⁹ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Ikd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 370 f.

⁵⁰ Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

⁵¹ Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Hikāyat Abi 'l-Kāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidleberg, 1902), p. 36.

⁵² *Iṣṭakhṛī*, *Viae regnorum* . . . ed. M. J. de Goeje, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1870), I.

The extent and fame of the manufactures of Andalus in the fourth (tenth) century may be gauged by the details supplied to us by Ibn Ḥawḳal:⁵³

In Andalus are to be found mercury, iron, lead (*raṣāṣ*), and with regard to wool, there are pieces (*ḳiṭ'a*) which resemble the best kind of Armenian carpets in relief (*maḥfūr*) of high price, ranging to the beautiful sur-carpets (*namaṭ*) made there. Concerning the wool (*ṣūf*) and the dyeing of it, and those things which they dye, they have marvelous stuff in the herbs (*ḥaṣhīṣh*), peculiar to Andalus, with which the Maghribī felts (*lubūd*) of high quality and price are dyed, as well as silk and whatever colors of *khazz*-silk, and *qazz*-silk they desire.

Brocade is exported thence, and no people on the face of the earth can equal them in the manufactures of their felts. Sometimes, "thirty felts" (*lubūd ṭhalā-ṭhīniya*) are made for their sultan, a single one of which is valued at fifty and sixty dinars, without their breadth being more than five or six spans (*shibr*), for they are the loveliest of cloths (*fursh*). In their country soft silk and close-woven (*al-khazz al-sakb*)⁵⁴ is made which exceeds that which is made for the Sultan of Iraq. There is a waxed (*mushamma'*) variety of it which prevents the rain from wetting the wearer.

He notes too that the prices in the province are very low and then continues:

In the provinces of their country cheap linen for robes is made and exported to many places, much even going to Egypt (*Miṣr*). As for their robes made in Pechina, they are taken to *Miṣr*, Mecca, Yemen, and other places. Linen is made in their country for the people, and the sultan which is in no way inferior to *Dabīkī* of the compact and the fine soft kind of the *sharb* variety, and it equals the excellent *Shaṭā* kind.

Maḳdisī⁵⁵ remarks: "From Andalus there comes a great deal of cloth (*bazz*), specialties and rareties,"

⁵³ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁵⁴ See Chapter III. This is a term applied to Kufan stuffs.

⁵⁵ Maḳdisī (*Muḳaddasī*), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 239.

Maḳḳarī has extracted a passage from Ibn Saʿid (ob. 673 H./1274 A.D.) which shows Andalus at the height of its industrial activity: ⁵⁶

Ibn Saʿid said: "The articles manufactured in Andalus are to be preferred above all others, and local patriots talk at length about them. For Almeria, Murcia, and Malaga are particularly famous for their gold figured silks (*washī mudḥahhab*), the beautiful fabric of which is a source of admiration to the people of the East when they see a piece of it. In Tantāla of the district of Murcia the carpets (*busuṭ*) which are sold at so high a price in the East, are made. In Granada and Baṣṭa the variety of silken garments (*al-libās al-muḥarrar*) called *mulabbad*, *mukḥattam* (checked stuff), with pleasing colors is manufactured. In Murcia too are made inlaid seats (*asirra murassa'a*), charmingly contrived reed-mats (*ḥuṣur*), articles of brass and iron (*ṣufr wa-ḥadid*), such as knives, gilded scissors (*amkāṣ mudḥahhaba*), and various other articles for the bride and soldier, which astound the senses (by their beauty). These types of articles are despatched thence to the land of Africa and other places."

The most instructive source for the other cities is Ḥimyarī who wrote *al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār*.⁵⁷ The book, as it now stands, seems to be the recension of an earlier work of uncertain date, but which, since it does not give any historical details beyond the latter half of the seventh century H., was probably written about that time. The author uses earlier sources and the book contains information not to be found elsewhere. The question of dating has been fully discussed by the editor in the preface.

Of the Sierra Nevada (*Shulair*), he ⁵⁸ says: "The little towns which are round about it produce the most excellent silk (*ḥarir*), and linen which is superior to that of the Faiyum." The Wādī Āsh (or *Ashsh* according to Yāḳūt,⁵⁹ the modern Guadix on the north side

of this range, was noted for the quantity of the ibrism-silk which was produced, while Ḥimyarī ⁶⁰ says that cotton grows there in great quantities. Ibn al-Khaṭīb ⁶¹ knows it as a place for silk (*ḥarir*). To the south of the range, Andarāsh (Andarax), a little town, dependent on Almeria, is noticed by Yāḳūt: ⁶² "The surpassingly fine linen is named after it." Ḥimyarī does not seem to have heard of this, but Ibn al-Khaṭīb ⁶³ says that its silk is gold.

A day's march away from Almeria was Ḥiṣn Shinsh in the Wādī Tabarnash. Maḳḳarī ⁶⁴ says: "Its territory abounds in mulberry-trees and silk and *ķirmiz* (crimson) are to be found there." Of Elvira (Ilbira) Yāḳūt ⁶⁵ says: "In all its districts linen and splendid silk are made." While Ḥimyarī ⁶⁶ remarks: "The silk coming from the plain of Elvira is that which is spread abroad in the country, and exported everywhere. As for the flax which is cultivated, it is of a superior quality to that of the Nile valley and the harvest is so plentiful that it is exported to the most distant Muslim countries." It was probably due to the fact that Elvira began to decline about 400 H. (1010 A.D.), as the result of a Berber rebellion, that records of it are so scanty.

Dimashḳī (ob. 727 H. [1327 A.D.]) adds Jaen to our list: ⁶⁷ "In the eastern part of Andalus is situated the district of Jaen (*Djaiyān*), called also *Ķinniṣrīn*, with the capital Madina al-Ḥāḍira which produces much silk." Maḳḳarī,⁶⁸ too, informs us that "it is called *Djaiyān al-Ḥarir* (*Djaiyān* of

⁶⁰ Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 192, trans., p. 233.

⁶¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, text, p. 19.

⁶² Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 373.

⁶³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, text, p. 18.

⁶⁴ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 102-3.

⁶⁵ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 348.

⁶⁶ Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 24, trans., p. 31.

⁶⁷ Al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din . . . ed-Dimichqui*, ed. A. F. Mehren (Leipzig 1923), p. 243, trans., *op. cit.*, p. 346.

⁶⁸ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, II, 146.

⁵⁶ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 123.

⁵⁷ Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, see the preface.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, text, p. 112, trans., p. 137.

⁵⁹ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 279.

the silk) because of the extensive rearing of the silk-worm (*dūd al-ḥarir*) in the plain of Jaen and the vicinity." He also remarks that Baeza, which lies in the sphere of its control, grew and exported a great deal of saffron.⁶⁹

In the southwest of Andalus lay the town of Calsena (*Ḳalsāna*). "At *Ḳalsāna* they make garments called *al-Ḳalsāniya*. They are of very remarkable style and workmanship" according to *Ḥimyarī*.⁷⁰

In a more northeasterly direction there lies yet another group, Valencia, Chinchilla, Furḡuṣa, Bocayrente, Murcia, and *Alsh*.

The inhabitants of Valencia were famed for their great skill in dyeing fine linen tissues according to *al-'Aini* (ob. 855 H./1451 A.D.),⁷¹ while "*Balansi* woven stuff (*nasidj*) which goes to all quarters of the Maghreb is one of its specialties" says *Maḳḳarī*.⁷² He further confirms that it is famous for dyes, both saffron and *ḳirmiz* (crimson).⁷³ Perhaps our authors do not know more of it because the city was lost to James I of Aragon in 636 H. (1238, A.D.), after five hundred years of Muslim rule.

Furḡuṣa, says *Yāḳūt*,⁷⁴ is a citadel of the province of *Dāniya* and Furḡuṣi garments are named after it. Bocayrente (*Bakirān*) which lies in the triangle formed by Xativa, *Dāniya*, and Elche is mentioned by *Idrisī*:⁷⁵ "They make white cloth (*thiyāb*) which sells at a very high price and lasts for many years. It is incomparable for quality and fineness. To such an extent is this so, that for whiteness and softness, it resembles paper."

Both *Idrisī* and *Ḥimyarī* give the same account of Chinchilla:⁷⁶ "*Djindjāla* . . . They make coverlets (*awṭiya*) of linen here which cannot be imitated elsewhere, a circumstance which depends on the quality of the air and water"; and⁷⁷ "*Shantadjāla* . . . It is after this place that the *Djindjālī* covers (*waṭā'*) are named because they are made there."

The most important city of the group, Murcia (*Mursiya*), has quite a long notice devoted to it by *Maḳḳarī*:⁷⁸

With the cities of Almeria and Malaga, it forms a third, engaged in the manufacture of figured wash-stuffs. It is particularly famous for *Tantālī* carpets (*busuṭ*) which are despatched to the eastern lands, and for mats (*ḥuṣur*) with which walls are covered, pleasing to the eye, and other things too many to mention.

*Ḥimyarī*⁷⁹ has a like notice: "They used to make fine and valuable carpets (*busuṭ*) at Murcia. The people of Murcia have unequalled skill in manufacturing and decorating these carpets."

Both *Yāḳūt* and *Ḳazwīnī* mention *Alsh* to the north of Murcia, the former⁸⁰ saying: "Splendid carpets (*busuṭ fākhira*) which have no parallel in the world for beauty, are manufactured there." *Ḳazwīnī*⁸¹ less rhetorically makes them unparalleled in Andalus itself.

Of *Bādja* in modern Portugal, the *Analectes*⁸² say: "In the days of the 'Abbādites it was specially famous for the tanning of leather and the manufacture of linen." Of *Arūn*, a district of *Bādja*, *Yāḳūt*⁸³ says: "Its linen is better than any of the other linen in Andalus."

⁶⁹ *Ḳalkashandī*, *op. cit.*, V, 229. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 176, trans. by T. Reinaud, I, 252.

⁷⁰ *Al-Ḥimyarī*, *op. cit.*, text, p. 163, trans., p. 195.

⁷¹ *Homenajé a D. F. Codera*, p. 464.

⁷² *Maḳḳarī*, *op. cit.*, II, 149.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 90 and 110.

⁷⁴ *Yāḳūt*, *op. cit.*, III, 881.

⁷⁵ *Idrisī*, *op. cit.*, text, p. 193.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, text, p. 195.

⁷⁷ *Al-Ḥimyarī*, *op. cit.*, text, p. 112, trans., p. 138.

⁷⁸ *Maḳḳarī*, *op. cit.*, II, 149.

⁷⁹ *Al-Ḥimyarī*, *op. cit.*, text, p. 182, trans., p. 219.

⁸⁰ *Yāḳūt*, *op. cit.*, I, 350.

⁸¹ *Ḳazwīnī*, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846-48), II, 338.

⁸² *Maḳḳarī*, *op. cit.*, I, 100.

⁸³ *Yāḳūt*, *op. cit.*, I, 227.

Though industry was concentrated in the south of Spain, there are one or two references to more northern centers. Of Lerida (Lārida), Ḥimyarī tells us:⁸⁴ "It is specially noted for the abundance and the excellence of its linen. It is exported thence to all the districts of the territory of the Marches."

It is most disappointing that, though Maḳḳarī says that Granada is the Damascus of Andalus, he is so devoid of information about its manufactures, apart from those of silken mulabbad stuffs and mukḥattam (checked) materials. He does however remark that there is good saffron to be found locally.⁸⁵ Some description of the dress of its inhabitants is given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (ob. 776 H. [1374 A.D.]):⁸⁶

The most usual apparel worn among all classes is the dyed blanket (milaff maṣbūgh) in winter. In

⁸⁴ Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, trans., p. 202.

⁸⁵ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 94, and II, 147.

⁸⁶ Muhammad Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta fī Akḥbār al-Ḡharnāta* (Cairo, 1319 H. [1901-2 A.D.]), I, 35.

summer various kinds of cloth (bazz), linen, silk (ḥarir), cotton, goathair,⁸⁷ African cloaks (ridā'), and Tunisian pieces of cloth (maḳṭa'), and doubled (lined ?) mantles (ma'āzir maṣḥfū'a) strive for first place.

Toledo (Ṭulaiṭula) has also been very briefly treated by the Arab authors. Maḳḳarī⁸⁸ mentions merely that it had saffron and pastel (ṣibgh samā'i) which is widely exported. Yāḳūt⁸⁹ had also heard of the fame of its saffron, and indeed it was famous as a Spanish export as early as Mas'ūdī.⁹⁰

Examples of the famed Andalusian silks are to be found in von Falke's *Decorative Silks* which, on the literary side, this article may help to supplement.

⁸⁷ Reading مرعز for موعر.

⁸⁸ Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 91.

⁸⁹ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 545.

⁹⁰ Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861-77), I, 367.

CHAPTER XVIII THE MAGHREB

OF ALL PARTS OF THE CIVILIZED MUSLIM world during the first four centuries, the Maghreb is probably the least productive of textiles of distinction, nor is it very well documented (Map 2).

The list of taxes in the *Djirāb al-Dawla*,¹ however, includes 120 large carpets (busuṭ) from the province of Ifrikiya as early as the reign of Ma'mūn along with the tribute in money. Guest has found an inscribed textile from the ṭirāz of Ifrikiya as early as the Caliph Marwān II, and which, in truth, is the earliest known ṭirāzī fragment. This stuff and the carpets probably came from Ḳairawān (Kairouan) or one of the cities of what I propose to call "the Ḳairawān group."² Abu 'l-Ḳāsim³ talks of Maghribī gold-embroidered carpets (anṭā' mudḥahhaba) as articles of luxury in Baghdad of his time, but this term Maghribī may also apply to Spain, so this evidence is of doubtful value. So also is the passage of *Djāhiz*⁴ which says: "The best felts are the Chinese (Ṣīnī) variety, and the red Maghribī kind," etc. Miskawaihi, curiously enough, informs us that the Byzantine army which besieged Aleppo in the year 351 H. (962 A.D.) had pavilions (khārgāhāt), adorned with Maghribī felts (lubūd).⁵

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes historiques*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862-68) I, 364.

² G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), p. 5. Cf. the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931), I, 28.

³ Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdi, *Hikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. by A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36.

⁴ *Djāhiz*, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 338. Cf. *op cit.*, p. 341.

⁵ Miskawaihi, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920-21), text, II, 193, trans., V, 210.

Nor do textiles figure very largely in the products of the Maghreb even in the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal:⁶ "Exports of the Maghreb . . . ambergris, silk (ḥarīr), robes of valuable and cheap wool of all kinds down to woollen gowns (djubba), and such-like manufactures, carpets (anṭā'), iron, lead, mercury, and slaves imported from the blacks (Sūdān)." An embassy to Spain in the year 381 H. (991 A.D.), according to Maḳḳarī⁷ brought to Cordova, among other things, several loads of burnouses and other articles of woollen cloth manufactured in Africa.

Even as late as 'Umari⁸ the state of civilization among the Africans seems to have been on a low level compared with other Muslim countries, for he says: "The inhabitants of Ifrikiya⁹ wear clothes of wool and cotton. Those who wear elegant clothing from Alexandria are isolated individuals." This remark is all the more surprising as Alexandrine stuffs were so largely exported to Europe in the Middle Ages.

Ibn Khaldūn,¹⁰ though contemporary with the famous Tamerlane, gives a very competent survey of the arts in North Africa and Spain which cannot afford to be neglected.

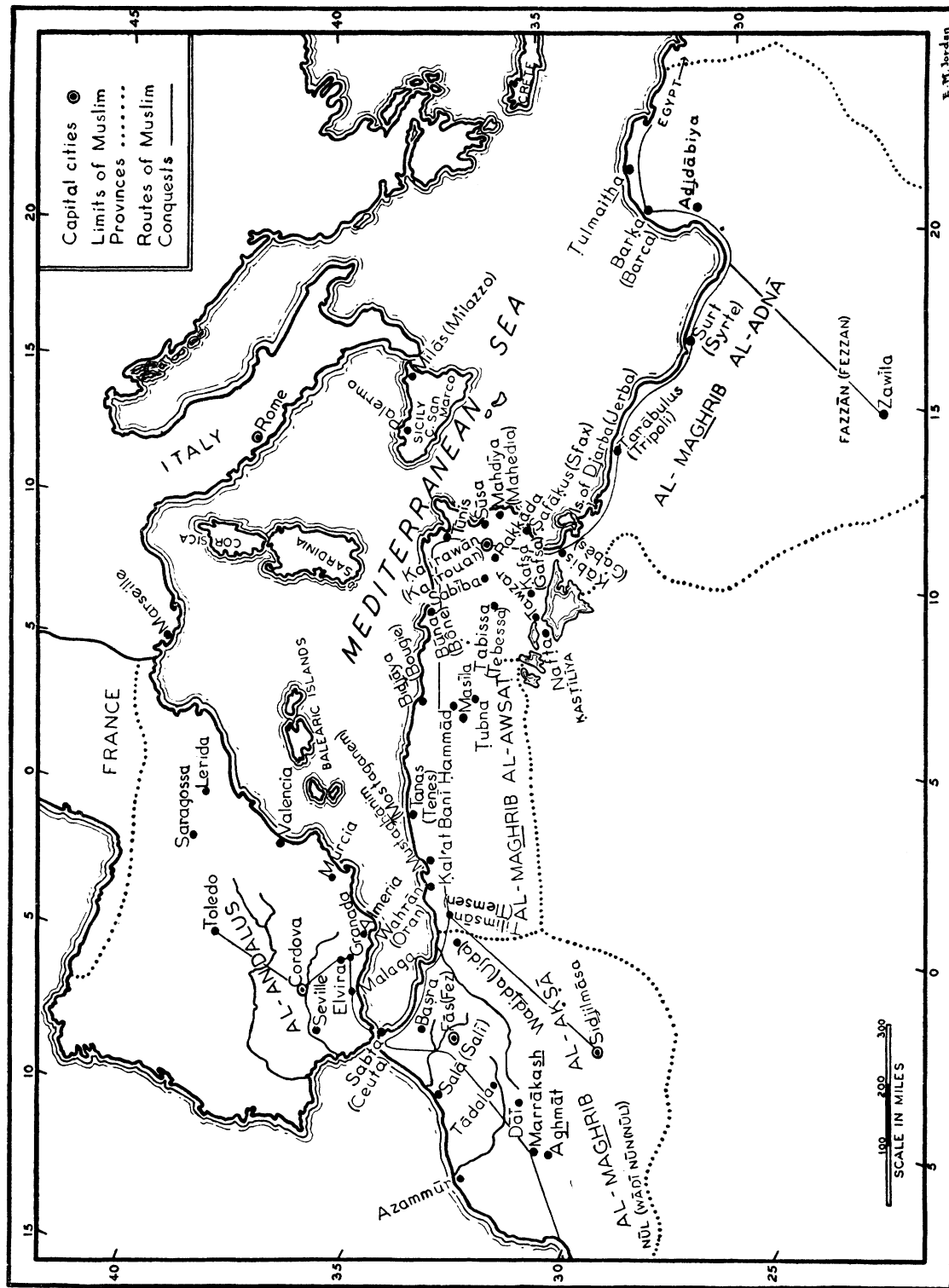
⁶ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed., Leyden, 1938-39), p. 97.

⁷ Al-Maḳḳarī, *The History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain (Nafh al-Tib)* (London, 1840-3), *Or. Trans. Fund.*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos, II, 191.

⁸ 'Umari, *Masālik al-Absār, fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, trans. by M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *I. L'Afrique moins l'Égypte (Bibliothèque des géographes arabes, II)* (Paris, 1927), p. 127. Cf. Ḳal-kashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), V, 143.

⁹ Ifrikiya means the northern littoral of the continent and is hardly so extensive a term as our "Africa."

¹⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, II, 365 and 362 and "Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun," ed. by E. Quatremère, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, XVI-XVIII (Paris, 1858), II, 314 and 310 ff.



MAP 2.—MUSLIM TEXTILE CENTERS IN NORTH AFRICA AND SICILY. (MODERN NAMES ARE GIVEN IN PARENTHESES)

The arts are few and imperfect in the Maghreb always excepting the weaving of wool, sewing and tanning of leather. These arts are brought to a high degree of perfection because they became indispensable when they had settled, and because wool and leather are the most plentiful products of countries occupied by nomads.

The arts of Spain all reached perfection due to the attention which had been devoted to their improvement and their care. Thus those arts imbued Spanish culture with so deep a dye that it would only disappear if that were to disappear also. So it is, if a stuff is well dyed, the dye lasts as long as the cloth.

Tunis resembles the Spanish cities in this respect. Culture made great progress there under the Ṣanhādja dynasty (the Zīrides), and then under that of the Almohades (Ḥafṣides), and every art had attained a high standard of perfection. However this city is inferior if compared to the Spanish towns, but the proximity to Egypt, and the great number of travellers who pass every year between this country and the Maghreb have resulted in the introduction of many practices which have helped to augment the number of arts which were already in this city. Sometimes Tunisians used to live in Cairo for several years, and on their return they brought back from Egypt customs of luxury and perfection of the arts of the east, a knowledge which gave them a high degree of repute. Thus it happens that as regards the arts, Tunis resembles Cairo, but it also resembles the Spanish towns, because most of its inhabitants are descended from natives of east Spain who came there as refugees in the great migration which took place in the seventh century A.D.

Thus the arts have been maintained in Tunis, and though this city is not at the present date in a state of civilisation which is worthy of it, yet once a dye has been thoroughly impregnated in a stuff, it hardly ever disappears unless this stuff is destroyed.

The truth of his statements of the settlements is attested by Bakrī¹¹ who informs us that Oran (Wahrān) was founded by a band of Andalusian sailors. Colonists from Elvira and Murcia colonized Tanas (Tenes) about 262 H. (875–6 A.D.). They used to winter in the port and later made a pact with the head

Berbers to have a market and port there. This, in time, grew to quite a large town of four hundred families.

AL-MAGHRIB AL-ADNĀ

It is mainly the coast cities of the Maghreb that are famous for their manufactures, much of the interior of the province being barren and in a low state of civilization.

As we travel from Alexandria westward, the first important town is Ṭulmaitha (Ptolemais), and Idrīsī¹² tells us that ships from Alexandria bring good stuffs of cotton and linen to it which they exchange for honey, pitch, and butter.

Barqa was early occupied by the Arabs and it flourished until the Hilālī invasion of the fifth (eleventh) century after which I have found no information. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal:¹³ "It has markets, frequented by merchants and buyers¹⁴ for the sale of wool, pepper, honey, wax, olive-oil, and various articles of merchandise, coming from the east, and going from the west." Bakrī (487 H. [1049 A.D.]) merely mentions that it exports wool (laine),¹⁵ while Idrīsī¹⁶ says: "In past times there was grown cotton which was called after it, quite unlike any other kind of cotton. . . . The ships and travellers who come from Alexandria, and Egypt (Miṣr) to Barqa export wool," etc.

Of Adjdābiya, Ibn Ḥawḳal¹⁷ says: "Ships

¹² Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 136.

¹³ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 67. Cf. Maḳḍisī (Mukaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1876, 2d ed., 1906), III, 239.

¹⁴ For the translation see the Glossary to the B.G.A.

¹⁵ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 131.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹¹ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), pp. 44 and 128.

come to it with supplies, and take away from it various wares, mostly consisting of robes of mediocre quality, and woollen cloths (*shikḥa*) of little value." According to Bakrī¹⁸ it had frequented bazaars, and most of the inhabitants are Copts, while Idrīsī¹⁹ remarks on the Jewish traders there. Surt, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal is a place from which ships take wool.²⁰

It might be well to notice the far inland city of Zawila here, which did a considerable trade in cloth with the hinterland; Bakrī²¹ tells us that at Zawila (or Zuwaila) of Faz-zān is a caravan station. Here slaves are sold, the intermediary being red cloth. This is confirmed by Yāḳūt:²² "Slaves are exported from Zawila towards Ifriḳiya and those parts. Their purchase is effected by short red garments." This city was the capital of the Faz-zān oasis, and apparently an important commercial center. These red garments seem to be the Baṣrī stuffs of which Bīrūnī speaks.

THE ẸAIRAWĀN GROUP

This rather arbitrary division of cities into the Ẹairawān group is made because Ẹairawān was the capital city of early Islam in Africa and possessed a ṭirāz-factory. All such cities are characterized by a more developed type of manufactures than the other more backward and primitive centers.

The first of these cities is Ṭarābulus (Tripoli), and Ibn Ḥawḳal²³ says: "There is a large export of precious wool and pieces of splendid blue robes (*ṭikān al-aksiya al-fākhira*

al-zurḳ).” The *Hudūd al-Ālam*²⁴ tells us that "it is a resort of Byzantine and Spanish merchants. Whatever the Sea of Rūm produces comes there." Bakrī²⁵ remarks on its frequented bazaars.

Of the island of Djarba, al-Tidjānī (706–08 H. [1306–09 A.D.]) says, "This island is famous in other countries for the superior quality of the wool that its numerous flocks produce. In no other part of Africa are finer kinds for the weaving of rich stuffs and garments to be found." Leo Africanus²⁶ confirms this: "Ceux de l'île vivent de la facture et traficque des draps de laine (au moins, la plus grand' partie), lesquels ils portent vendre, ensemble le raisin sec, dans la cité de Thunes (Tunis) ou d'Alexandrie."

Ibn Ḥawḳal²⁸ enumerated silks among the exports from Africa, and of Ẹābis he says: "It has markets within its walls, and great supplies of wool, besides which a great deal of silk (*ḥarīr*) is made there." The anonymous geographer²⁹ of the sixth century in a passage founded on Bakrī, says: "There are many mulberry trees there, and silk is raised. This is the best and finest silk, none being made in Ifriḳiya except here." Idrīsī,³⁰ too, knew of

²⁴ *Hudūd al-Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 153.

²⁵ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁶ Al-Tidjānī, *Voyage du Scheikh et-Tidjani*, (partial) trans. by A. Rousseau, *Journ. Asiatique* (Paris, 1852), IV, XX, 171.

²⁷ Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique tierce partie du monde*, ed. C. Schefer, *Recueil des Voyages et Documents* (Paris, 1896), XIII, III, 177.

²⁸ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²⁹ *Description de l'Afrique par un géographe anonyme du sixième siècle*, ed. by A. v. Kremer (Vienna, 1852), p. 3. This passage is based on al-Bakrī. See M. Quatremère, "Notice d'un manuscrit arabe contenant la description de l'Afrique" (by al-Bakrī), *Notes et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, XII (Paris, 1831), 28. All the references in this chapter to the latter work allude to the off-print.

³⁰ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 106.

¹⁸ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁹ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 132.

²⁰ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²¹ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

²² Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 961.

²³ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

its fame: "In former times there were *ṭirāz*-factories there in which beautiful silk (*ḥarir*) was made, but nowadays there are tanneries there for leather which is exported." Yāḳūt³¹ also gives it some attention: "There are many mulberry trees there, and from one of those trees there comes a quantity of silk which five trees elsewhere cannot produce. Its silk is the best and finest variety. No silk is to be found in the province of Ifrikiya except at *Ḳābis*." Even the post-Mongol *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*³² speaks of "*Ḳābis* . . . a fine large city where excellent stuffs are woven."

A more inland group of cities lay to the west of *Ḳābis*; they are *Ḳafṣa*, *Tawzar*, *Naḥṭa*, and others, and they also had some textiles.

"In *Ḳafṣa*" says the anonymous geographer³³ "are made cloaks (*ridā'*) of the kind known as *ṭailasāns*, and turbans of wool, of the utmost fineness, vying with *sharb*-cloth."³⁴ Idrīsī³⁵ knew that they cultivated cotton and henna. Bakrī³⁶ mentions a place called *Ṭurak* after which *Ṭurakī* garments imported into Egypt took their name.

The same anonymous geographer³⁷ mentions a place *Dardjīn*: "It is an ancient city near *Naḥṭa*, and it is a large city where *Dardjīnī* robes which resemble the kind manufactured at *Sidjilmāsa*, both in cloth (*ṭhawb*) and color, though they are of an inferior quality, are manufactured."

³¹ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 1 ff.

³² Mustawfī *Ḳazwīnī* (*Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī*), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 265.

³³ *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 40.

³⁴ Reading *sharb* for *sharf*.

³⁵ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 104.

³⁶ If this reading is correct. See M. Quatremère's edition of al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 69, which has *Ṭūran*.

³⁷ *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 46.

Ibn Sa'īd³⁸ says of the district called *Ḳaṣṭiliya*, the exact area of which it is rather hard to determine: "In this region, excellent linen, indigo, and henna are found." This district lay somewhere near the two large "Shutts," and a town of that name is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal³⁹ which "had supplies of wool despatched to every quarter, such as pieces (*shikḳa*) of cloth, robes, fur (*ḥanbal*), and other articles manufactured there and exported everywhere." The capital of this area was *Tawzar*, which according to Abu 'l-Fidā⁴⁰ had flax and henna. *Tidjānī*⁴¹ describes *Bāb al-Manṣhūr* there: "Those of the inhabitants who exercise the profession of dyers, come there to spread out garments of various colors, and embroidered stuffs. The eye of the visitor seems to see in front of him, a rich flower-bed, where flowers of a thousand colors blossom on the edges of fresh and limpid streams." (Eighth [fourteenth] century.)

Ṣafāḳus seems to have been affected by Alexandrine influence, for Bakrī⁴² says: "Dans l'art de fouler les draps, et de leur donner le cati, les habitants de *Ṣafāḳus* suivent les méthodes employées à Alexandrie, mais ils surpassent les fabricants de cette ville par l'excellence et l'abondance de leurs produits." However the translation of Quatremère⁴³ reads: "Les habitants se livrent à l'art du foulon, et à celui du tisserand, avec encore plus d'activité et de succès qu'on ne le fait à Alexandrie." Our anonymous geographer remarks⁴⁴ that Sicily, Italy, and *Rūm* have connections with it.

North Africa was in all probability the

³⁸ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, II, 383.

³⁹ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁴⁰ Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 144.

⁴¹ Al-Tidjānī, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁴² Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 46.

⁴³ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, ed. M. Quatremère, pp. 31-2.

⁴⁴ *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 7.

least noteworthy country in the *ṭirāz*-system. It was not until Abbasid times that the Maghreb began to be divided into petty semi-independent states where the rulers set up their own factories in the palace and elsewhere. Nevertheless Africa probably possessed *ṭirāz*-cities before Andalus. The capital of Nearer Africa (al-Maghrib al-Adnā) was *Ḳairawān*, founded upon an old Roman site in 50 H. (670 A.D.). When Bakrī⁴⁵ wrote (487 H. [1049 A.D.]) the city possessed a *Bāb al-Ṭirāz* which was on the side toward Raḳḳāda. The *ṭirāzī* cloth made in Ifriḳīya has already been mentioned, and it is probable that it came from here. It is worthy of note that the mosque of *Ḳairawān* owed its foundation to Hishām, so possibly the *ṭirāz*-factory was in existence in his day.

Ḳairawān became a flourishing place under the Aghlabids (184–298 H. [800–909 A.D.]); it was a very mixed city, and after Ya'ḳūbī,⁴⁶ it had a population comprising Arab, Berber, Persian, *Khurāsānī*, and *Rūmī* elements. Ibn Ḥawḳal⁴⁷ is able to tell us (367 H. [978 A.D.]):

Ḳairawān was the greatest town in the Maghreb, the largest in property and trade, and possessing the most beautiful buildings and markets. The *Diwān* of all the West (Maghreb) was there to which the taxes were all taken, and the Sultan's palace was also there. Outside it was the place called Raḳḳāda which is a town that was the dwelling of the Banū Aghlab.

An incidental note in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*⁴⁸ tells us that al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs, the Zīrid, and a member of a dynasty which had supported Fatimid rule in Africa, changed the inscription on the coinage, melted up the

money of the 'Ubaidites (Fatimids) and had them cursed in the mosques. These were the customary proceedings when a governor or general wished to renounce his allegiance to the central power: "The suppression of their names on the flags and standards was even anterior to this. The 'Ubaidites had begun to strike money in their name and to put their names on the standards, and in the borders (*ṭirāz*) in 296 H. (908 A.D.), and Mu'izz suppressed them in 441 H. (1094 A.D.); that is to say that this lasted for 145 years."

A little further on,⁴⁹ he says:

In *Djumādā* of the year 443 H. (1049, A.D.) said Ibn Ḥarāf, al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs summoned the dyers and gave them white stuffs coming from the linen-store (*funduḳ al-kattān*), so as to dye them black, and they dyed them the deepest black. He collected the tailors who cut them into garments, and all the jurists and cadis were summoned to the palace, as well as the preachers of *Ḳairawān*, and the muezzins, and he invested them with black.

Since the Fatimids had *ṭirāz*-factories while they were still in Ifriḳīya, we might expect that, when the seat of government was moved from *Ḳairawān* to the new city of Mahdiya in the year 308 H. (921 A.D.), new factories would be established there, and they certainly did have an arsenal (*dār al-ṣanā'a*) from the first. According to Bakrī,⁵⁰ Mahdiya was frequented by boats from Alexandria, Syria, Sicily, Spain, etc., and Idrīsī⁵¹ tells us that:

It has never ceased to be a station for ships of the Hejaz⁵² coming to it from the East, the West, An-

⁴⁵ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, ed. M. Quatremère, pp. 39 and 44.

⁴⁶ Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān*, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1892), VII, 348.

⁴⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁸ Ibn 'Adhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*. . . . *Al-Bayano 'l-Mogrib*, ed. R. P. A. Dozy (Leyden, 1848–51), I, 290 and 291 ff., trans. by E. Fagnan (Alger, 1901–4), I, 416 and 418.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, text, I, 272, trans., I, 387. For a discussion on standards see the introduction to M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes' translation (in part) of 'Umari, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 67.

⁵¹ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 107 ff.

⁵² There is no necessity to alter the word *Ḥidjāz*, as "ships" (*marākib*) might also be understood as "caravans" which would come by land. In any case

dalus, Rûm, and other countries. Many wares were imported into it and sold for enormous sums in past days, but there is little of that nowadays. Mahdiyya was the harbor and port of Ẓairawān. . . . Fine and excellent cloth called after it used to be made which merchants took to all countries at all times and at the time when it was impossible to make similar cloth for excellence and beauty, in any other country.

Yāḳūt⁵³ adds: "To it are attributed Sūsī and Mahdawī cloth (ṭhiyāb)."

The downfall of the hitherto prosperous Mahdiyya took place in 449 H. (1057 A.D.) when Mu'izz removed the bazaars and factories to al-Manṣūriya. We hear that as much as ten dirhams was paid for the location of a booth to sell linen there. But Ẓairawān had ceased to flourish at the foundation of Mahdiyya and was a miserable city with only a few tanners, in the time of Leo Africanus.⁵⁴ According to Ibn al-Mudjāwir⁵⁵ the inhabitants of the island of Kish wear the stuffs of Mahdiyya in the Maghreb.

The city of Sūsa was always renowned for its textiles, though I have been able to find very little early information about them. It was held by the Idrīsids, the Almoravids, and the Almohads in turn, though the Almoravids never held it very securely.

Ṭirāzī stuffs are mentioned there by Bakrī:⁵⁶ "Many people are employed in weaving at Sūsa, and they make thread, one mithḳāl of which is worth two gold mithḳāls.

the author may not have been considering the precise implication of these words.

⁵³ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 694.

⁵⁴ G. Yver, "al-Ẓairawān," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913-38), II, 648, mentions carpets, woollen and cotton goods, as products of Ẓairawān, but I have been unable to trace the reference.

⁵⁵ Quoted by C. Schefer in his edition of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, entitled *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1881), II, I, 231 (footnote).

⁵⁶ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 78, edition of Quatremère, p. 54.

Here it is that the fullers finish off the fine stuffs of Ẓairawān." This passage is repeated by the anonymous geographer:⁵⁷

It is especially noted for abundance of good, excellent fine garments, and for the fulling (ḳiṣāra) of them, as well as all the manufactures of precious stuffs of its embroidery (ṭaraz) and bleaching (kamd). Such as the latter are not to be found manufactured in any city but this, and the Sūs cloth is well known, without parallel, and of a startlingly white color and lustre,⁵⁸ not to be found in any other cloth. Precious garments such as turbans of close weave⁵⁹ are imported from this place, a single one of which is worth a hundred dinars and more, and which merchants take to all countries, east and west. Thread (ḡhazl) is sold there, a mithḳāl's weight for two mithḳāls usually.

Perhaps the turbans mentioned here are the same as those which were made in Ḳal'a Ḥammād for the Ṣanhādji monarchs.

Idrīsī⁶⁰ tells us that "it has many wares. Travellers come and go from it with cloth, such as various kinds of garments and turbans, called after it, a fine and precious kind of ware. It has frequented markets." Yāḳūt⁶¹ remarks: "Most of its inhabitants are weavers, weaving Sūsī clothes of high price, and whatever is made elsewhere resembles them, the price of a garment in the country of provenance being ten dinars." He quotes an earlier authority Ibn Sa'd and further mentions that "the weavers there are many, and they spin a thread a mithḳāl's weight of which is sold for two mithḳāls."

The traveler Ṭidjānī⁶² from his own evidence tells us that "it is there that they make

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Read baṣiṣ with Yāḳūt, instead of maṣiṣ. Cf. *infra*, footnote 82.

⁵⁹ Ma'sūr or maḳṣūr?

⁶⁰ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 125, also quoted by Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 144, trans. (Paris, 1847-83), I, 199.

⁶¹ Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 191-2.

⁶² Al-Ṭidjānī, *op. cit.*, p. 103. (8th century H. [14th century A.D.].)

the fine garments called *Sūsī*." Ibn Duḡmāk⁶³ even tells us that there was a street in Cairo known as *Darb al-Sūsī* which would seem to imply that these stuffs were sold if not even made there. The frequent occurrence of *Sūsī* cloth in the catalogues of the Fatimid treasuries in Maḡrīzī show that they were exported to Egypt from that period, and it is very likely that this dynasty had a *ṭirāz* there.⁶⁴ At the end of the fifteenth century Ibn Iyās still notes that garments and robes are exported from *Sūs* but it is doubtful if this evidence is contemporary.⁶⁵

Tunis began to grow about the year 80 H. (698 A.D.), and it has been prosperous ever since. It was about that time that the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik sent a thousand Copts with their families, and at the same time an arsenal was constructed, in which, it appears, these Copts were to build ships with wood provided by the Berbers. Some textile-workers may have come along with them,⁶⁶ but it is Ibn Ḥawḳal⁶⁷ who is the first to tell us that "one of its crops is cotton which is taken to *Ḳairawān* at a profit and thus also hemp (*ḳinnab*)." The same author⁶⁸ adds that the merchants of

Fars wear robes of Tunisian stuff. While Idrīsī found that *Ḳairawān* was at a very low ebb, Tunis was a fine flourishing city with crops of cotton and a yellow dye (*'uṣfur*).⁶⁹ A court of silk-merchants (*funduḳ al-ḥarā'* *irīya*) was established there, probably as early as the year 332 H. (994 A.D.).

In the mid-thirteenth century the Ḥafṣide, Abū Zakariyā, established industry there and built a *Sūḳ al-Ḳumāsh* (cloth-market). 'Umarī⁷⁰ tells us that "cloth is made there called 'African'. Those are superior stuffs whether of cotton and linen, or linen only. They are more perfect than the Naṣāfi of Baghdad, and more beautiful; the best garments of the Maghreb are made of them." *Ḳalkaṣhandī*⁷¹ too quotes the *Masālik al-Abṣār* (of 'Umarī) saying:

The Sultan of Tūnis . . . concerning his apparel, the *Masālik al-Abṣār* says of the Sultan of his time (the first half of the eighth (fourteenth) century) in Ifriḳīya, that he had a turban (*'imāma*), not excessively large, with a head-rope (*ḥanak*), and a small trailing end (*'adḥaba*). Ibn Sa'id said: "He has a large turban of wool (*ṣūf*) and linen (*kattān*) with a *ṭirāz*-border of silk (*ḥarīr*). Nobody of the ruling family wears one so large in size." He remarked that the end of his turban comes behind his left ear, which is reserved to him and his relations. He has gowns (*djubbā*) somewhat resembling that. . . . His customary apparel and that of his great sheikhs is made of a cloth (*ḳumāsh*) they have, called *safsārī* made there of silk and cotton, of silk and very fine wool, as well as cloth known as *Tilimsānī* which is made in *Tilimsān*, either of pure wool, or pure silk, checked (*mukḥattam*), or without checks.

Ibn Bannūn said: "The Sultan is distinguished by the wearing of *khazz*-silk. Its color is green and black." He said: "This color is called *al-djawzī* (nut-color), and *al-ghiyār* (read *al-ghubār*, dust-colored), and *al-Naftī* (from *Nafta*, a city in the

⁶³ Ibn Duḡmāk, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. C. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), I, 29.

⁶⁴ See Chapter XVI. *Sūs* stuffs are mentioned by Ibn 'Adhārī, *op. cit.*, text, I, 271, trans., I, 386-7. They were embroidered with gold. Stuffs of *Sūs* are very commonly mentioned in oriental authors, but there is frequently some doubt as to whether they come from the Persian or North African city of that name, or even from some other place altogether.

⁶⁵ Ibn Iyās, "Cosmographie . . . par . . . Mohammed ben Ahmed ben Ayās (*Nashḳ al-Azhār*)" by L. Langlès, *Not. et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, VIII (Paris, 1810), p. 6.

⁶⁶ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, trans. de Slane, p. 84 (edition of Quatremère, p. 57).

⁶⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ *Idem*, *Viae et regna . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 205. The reading may be incorrect as is indeed very likely.

⁶⁹ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 110.

⁷⁰ 'Umarī, trans. (in part) by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

⁷¹ *Ḳalkaṣhandī*, *op. cit.*, V, 141-2. Cf. R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 180 for Tunis.

hinterland of Ḳābis ?).” Ibn Sa’id said: “It is that which comes from the sea at Ṣafākus.”⁷² ‘Umārī says in the *Masālik al-Abṣār*; “It is called ‘fish-down’ (wabar al-samak) in Egypt and Syria, meaning what is expressed by the ‘fish-wool’ afore-mentioned under Ṣafākus (ṣūf al-samak)” . . . Ibn Sa’id said: “They are the finest cloths (ṭhiyāb) of the Sultan in Tunis.”

In the *Masālik al-Abṣār*, on the authority of Ibn Sa’id, he related that the Sultan used commonly to wear garments of precious wool, wonderful and of various colors. The most commonly worn is the checked (muḥḥattam), gold-embroidered (mumta-zidj) stuff of silk and wool,⁷³ with two long sleeves, without great length, narrow without being tight (muzannad). His robes are not tied by a belt (niṭāk) unless it should be war-time when they are tied with a girdle. He also wears cloaks (ḳabā’) and has a ṭailasān of wool of very fine material which he wears as a cloak and does not put over his head.

The Cadi Abu l’Ḳāsim ibn Bannūn said: “It is not the custom of the Sultan of Ifriḳiyya to invest those whom he appoints to command a province with a robe of honor (ḳhil’a) as it is in Miṣr (Cairo); it is only an investiture (kiswa), and it consists of uncut cloth which he can use as he wills.”

Ḳalkāshandī⁷⁴ further mentions that “other kinds of clothing such as the choice articles imported from Alexandria and Iraq, are extremely uncommon.”

Strangely enough, Idrīsī⁷⁵ mentions that this safsārī stuff was made at Nūl (a plain now called Wādī Nūn or Nūl) in southwest Morocco, between the west Anti-Atlas and its outliers, twenty miles from the sea. In Tunis Leo Africanus found there was a great number of merchants of only the finest stuffs, as

⁷² See supra. Compare these passages with ‘Umārī, trans. (in part) by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–5. For sea-wool see Chapter XXI.

⁷³ The word mumta-zidj may simply mean here a “compounded, or mixed, stuff,” and not a gold-embroidered stuff. For a somewhat similar term, mu-mazzadj, see Chapter II, I, footnote 17.

⁷⁴ Ḳalkāshandī, *op. cit.*, V, 143.

⁷⁵ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 59.

well as “veloutiers, couturiers, selliers, and pelletiers.”⁷⁶

In the hinterland of Ḳairawān near the city of Sabiba, much flax (kattān) was grown according to Ibn Ḥawḳal.⁷⁷ Still further inland Tabissa was one of the more civilized cities which belong to the Ḳairawān group, and Yākūt⁷⁸ says: “There are fine carpets of perfect weave (busuṭ ḍjalila muḥkama al-nasadj) there, which last for a long time.”

Proceeding along the coast from Tunis we come to Būna and Ibn Ḥawḳal⁷⁹ notes that it trades in wool. The editor of the sixth century adds that flax is also grown there.

The area examined in the above passages is known as Nearer Africa (al-Maghrib al-Adnā) and the next province which comes to our notice is called Middle Africa (al-Maghrib al-Awsaṭ).

AL-MAGHRIB AL-AWSAṬ

Another branch of the Zīrid dynasty, the Ḥammādids, had its capital in Ḳal’a Ḥammād which they founded in 398 H. (1007–8 A.D.), and which soon became a center of the arts and industry. It is interesting to find that there was even a small community of Christians there.

The anonymous author of the sixth century⁸⁰ who mainly follows Bakrī, tells us: “In the city of Ḳal’a Ḥammād are made robes (aksiya) which have no equal for excellence and fineness, not even the Wadjdī robes which are made at Wadжда. A festal robe (kisā’ id) of the manufacture of the Ḳal’a is worth thirty dinars.” In the same work there is a passage which must either refer to the stuffs made in the ṭirāz-factory of the Ḥammādids in the

⁷⁶ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, III, 138.

⁷⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. J. H. Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁷⁸ Yākūt, *op. cit.*, I, 823.

⁷⁹ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁸⁰ *Description de l’Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 58.

Ḳal'a, or else perhaps to the famous turbans of Sūs: ⁸¹

The Ṣanhādī kings (from the context, the Zīrids are intended) had gold-woven turbans ('amā'im mudhahhaba), expensive in price, a single one of which was worth five and six hundred dinars and even more. They used to shape them with the most perfect art so that they became like two turbans (tādī). In their country there were craftsmen especially for this manufacture. For the making of turbans of this kind, a molder (ṣā'igh) took two dinars or more. They used to have molds (ḳālib) of wood in their factories (hānūt) which they called "heads" round which they used to wind the turbans.

In 543 H. (1048 A.D.) Yaḥyā moved all the valuable material away from it in front of the advance of the Almohades, and Yākūt ⁸² somewhat later, says: "There were made in Ḳal'a Hammād, extremely good felts of Ṭilaḳān (Ṭalīḳān in *Khurasan*) (labābīd al-Ṭilaḳān). The beautiful Ḳal'i robes (aksiya) of close weave and embroidered with gold (muṭarrāz) were to be found. Their wool has a softness and luster, ⁸³ so that with gold, they are esteemed as ibriism-silk." In this connection it is interesting to note that the Ḥammādids had an arsenal at the Ḳal'a (dār al-ṣanā'a) as well as this ṭirāz-factory, but the city declined after their time.

The chief port of the Maghreb in this area was the city of Bidjāya (Bougie) of which our anonymous geographer ⁸⁴ says: "It is a great port where the ships from Rūm, Syria, and others of the most distant countries of Rūm, and ships of the Muslims from Alexandria with the rarities of the land of Egypt, Yemen, India, and China, etc., put in." This town according to Ibn al-Baiṭār ⁸⁵ produced a

dye Ardjīḳna (from a plant of that name): "The dyers get it from the Maghreb from the country surrounding Bidjāya and the best is that of Sétif. It is also known in Ifriḳiya."

Seven days south of Bidjāya lay Ṭubna where they had cotton, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal. ⁸⁶ The same author tells us that: "Masila is a new town founded by Ali ibn al-Andalusī, a servant of the family of 'Ubaid Allāh (the Fatimid). It grows cotton." ⁸⁷ Mustaghānim according to Bakrī ⁸⁸ had cotton which made some beautiful articles, and Leo Africanus ⁸⁹ remarks that there were artisans and weavers of stuffs there.

Tilimsān (Tlemcen) really began to flourish under the Almohades, and Bakrī ⁹⁰ remarks on its bazaars. Yākūt ⁹¹ knew that "the women in it make out of wool horse-cloths (kan-būsh) of various kinds which are not to be found elsewhere." The passage from Ibn Sa'īd (ob. 673 H. [1274 A.D.]) mentioning a Tilimsāni cloth of pure wool, or of pure silk, with or without checks (mukhattam) has already been cited. If the Sultan derived cloth from this city it is extremely likely that he had a ṭirāz-factory there. According to the *Encyclopædia of Islām* ⁹² it is still noted for horse-cloths.

AL-MAGHRIB AL-AḲṢĀ

The chief city in this, the most outlying district of Islam in the West, during the period

dyers obtain from the Maghreb, from the country surrounding Bougie (Bidjāya) and Sétif.

⁸⁶ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 193. Abu 'l-Fidā, *op. cit.*, text, p. 139, trans., I, 192.

⁸⁷ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 86.

⁸⁸ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 143.

⁸⁹ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, III, 47.

⁹⁰ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁹¹ Yākūt, *op. cit.* I, 871.

⁹² A. Bel, "Tlemcen," *Encycl. Islam*, IV, 804.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸² Yākūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 164.

⁸³ Baṣīṣ which I propose to read for maṣīṣ, *supra*, footnote 57.

⁸⁴ *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 21.

⁸⁵ See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed., Paris, 1927), I, 17, under Ardjīfan. This is a dye according to Ibn al-Baiṭār which the

of Muslim domination was Fez (Fās) and this city, at one period at least, did possess *ṭirāz*-factories, though from the description it is uncertain how far they were under palace control. It is likely that they made materials on commission of the palace officials, or official, but that their factories were independent of the sovereign. A certain amount of Persian influence may have been exerted on the early manufactures of Fez, because Idrīs, in founding it, established a group of Persians there from Iraq (probably 'Irāk A'djami) at 'Ain Alloun, but the main trends of influence on local art probably came from Andalus with the immigrants of various periods. The *Zahra al-Ās*⁹³ remarks that about the year 462 H. (1069-70 A.D.) Yūsuf ibn Tāshifin brought artisans from Cordova who restored or built numerous buildings at Fez.

Bakrī⁹⁴ found that the Jews were more numerous in Fez than in any other city in the Maghreb and it may have been partly due to this that it was such a noted dyeing center; all this part of Africa produced indigo. According to I. Epstein:⁹⁵ "The majority of the Jews eked out their living, mostly in huckstering and peddling amongst themselves as well as among their neighbors. The trade chiefly consisted in woollen goods—raw or manufactured, silks, scarlets, and other textile wares, dyes, wax, and ostrich-feathers." In a footnote he mentions blankets (חמילות), dyers' woad (isatis tinctoria איסטיים), purples. Yākūt⁹⁶ adds: "In Fez, purple-red (urđjuwān) and crimson (ķirmizi) garments are

died." Further, Benjamin of Tudela⁹⁷ actually remarks that in Thebes there were 2,000 Jews (that is to say families of Jews), mostly skilled artificers in silk and purple cloth, and throughout Greece. The connection of Jews with the ķirmizi (crimson dye) has been noted before.

The *Rawḍ al-ķirṭās*⁹⁸ tells us that "the dyers established themselves because of the proximity to the water, on the two sides of the tongue of land which divides the Wādī Kabīr from its entry into the town as far as Roumelia . . . Beyond, the fritter-fryers and makers of haiks established themselves." The *Zahra al-Ās* further adds that artisans and merchants of all lands come to Fez.⁹⁹

Both the *Zahra al-Ās*¹⁰⁰ and the *Rawḍ al-ķirṭās*¹⁰¹ have the same account of the factories there in Almohad times. In the light of what Ibn Khaldūn¹⁰² noticed—that the Almohades were the first to drop the *ṭirāz*-inscription, but that in later times, they re-adopted it—we might surmise that this took place under the two monarchs who are mentioned in the following passage: "In the time of the Almohad al-Manşūr, and of his son Muhammad al-Nāşir (580-610 H. [1184-1213 A.D.]) there were at Fez . . . 467 funduqs (inns for merchants) . . . 3094 houses of *ṭirāz* (aṭriza) . . . and 116 dyehouses . . . inside the walls." These *ṭirāz*-factories were in the highest part of the town. Our information here is authentic because the author founds it upon a document which came from the archives of Fez itself.

⁹⁷ *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., p. 10.

⁹⁸ Ali b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zar' al-Fāsī, *Roudh el-Kartas, Histoire des Souverains du Maghreb*, trans. by A. Beaumier (Paris, 1860) p. 58.

⁹⁹ Al-Ghaznā'i, *op. cit.*, trans., p. 72.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ Ali b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zar' al-Fāsī, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁰² See Chapter I.

⁹³ Abu 'l-Hasan Ali al-Ghaznā'i, "Zahrat al-Ās," ed. and trans. by A. Bel, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* (Alger, 1923), LIX, text, p. 32, trans., p. 78.

⁹⁴ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 226.

⁹⁵ I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Zemah Duran* (London, 1930), trans. p. 47.

⁹⁶ Yākūt, *op. cit.*, III, 842.

Considering the position in al-Maghrib al-Akṣā of Sidjilmāsa, founded in 140 H. (757–8, A.D.), it was surprisingly famous for its textiles.¹⁰³ An unusual passage from Birūnī¹⁰⁴ may help to explain the fame of Sidjilmāsa in Islam:

In the lands of the negroes are mines richer in output than any other region, containing pure gold; but the road thither is very toilsome on account of the deserts and sands, and because the inhabitants of those lands shrink from association with our people. For this reason the merchants of Sidjilmāsa, on the borders of Tāhart in al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, provide themselves with sufficient provisions and plenty of water and carry to the negroes who live beyond the desert, Baṣra garments known as munahṇahāt, their love of which they know well. These garments have red borders (aṭrāf) and are colored with various colors, and bordered (mu'allama) with gold. They sell them for gold, and by making signs from a distance, and by displaying them so that both parties agree.

The Baṣra intended is probably the Baṣra of the Maghreb.¹⁰⁵

Idrisi¹⁰⁶ tells us that "the people of this town have crops of cotton, cumin, carraway, and henna." Yāqūt¹⁰⁷ seems well acquainted with its products: "Its women have the hands of craftsmen in spinning wool of which they make all wonderful and strange kinds of lovely izārs surpassing the linen (qaṣab) of Egypt. The price of an izār reaches thirty-five dinars or more, like the most expensive qaṣab which is in Egypt. They make mantles (or hats, ḡhafāra) of it, the price of which comes to about the same, and they dye it with various

colors." Leo Africanus of rather later date, adds that there are Jewish traders there.

Bakrī¹⁰⁸ tells us of Yerara: "Leur laine qui est d'une qualité supérieure, s'emploie à Sidjilmāsa pour fabriquer des étoffes dont chaque pièce se vend à un prix qui dépasse vingt mithkāl (d'or)." He further mentions that their sheep are of a kind said to be from the island of Kīs in the Persian Gulf. The translation of Quatremère¹⁰⁹ however, calls this place Ḥiṣn Badāra and informs us that these sheep came from Fars.

The other cities in al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, apart from Sidjilmāsa and Fez, seem to have been little known to the geographers and not of much interest as regards their textile products.

Of Wadja (Ujda), the anonymous geographer¹¹⁰ says: "They say that from one of their sheep two hundred ounces of fat are taken. From their wool they make robes (aksiya) quite unequalled in quality, like the 'Abidī kind,¹¹¹ a single robe being worth fifty dinars or more."

Sabta (Ceuta), according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb¹¹² was "a very San'a of beautiful cloaks (ḥulla)" and a station for caravans of olive-oil (aṣīr), silk (ḥarir), and linen (kattān).

Baṣra is a place which has long disappeared. It is believed to have been founded toward the end of the ninth century and seems to have had some manufactures of cloth. Ibn Ḥaw-

¹⁰³ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 281.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, ed. M. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 165. This is not an accurate translation, being inferior to that of de Slane which is, however, also dubious in many places.

¹¹⁰ *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 66.

¹¹¹ Read perhaps Ṣa'īdī for 'Abidī.

¹¹² Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, trans. by F. J. Simonet (Madrid, 1860), p. 29.

¹⁰³ Ibn Ḥawkal, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 176, talks of its trouser-cords but this is an incorrect reading.

¹⁰⁴ Birūnī, *Kitāb al-Djamāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1938), p. 241 ff.

¹⁰⁵ For munahṇahāt, we might read munakh-khakhāt.

¹⁰⁶ Idrisi, *op. cit.*, text, p. 61.

¹⁰⁷ Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 46.

kal¹¹³ says: "It has much cotton produce which is taken to Ifrikiya and elsewhere." The anonymous geographer¹¹⁴ adds: "It is also called Bašra al-Kattān (Bašra of the Linen) because its people trade in linen." Idrīsī¹¹⁵ also adds that its principal products consist of cotton. Yāqūt¹¹⁶ quotes 'Umarī to say: "Bašra used to be known as Bašra al-Kattān, for they used, in early times, to perform all transactions with linen." The red Bašrī garments mentioned as being used in trade with the Negroes may have come from here.

At Salā (Sali), ships from Seville and Andalus used frequently to put in, according to Idrīsī,¹¹⁷ while Ibn al-Khaṭīb¹¹⁸ mentions that it "is a mine of cotton and linen." Leo Africanus¹¹⁹ remarks that much cotton is produced from which the inhabitants of the town make "des toiles fort deliées et belles, qui est la cause qu'ils sont quasi tous tisserans en la cité." Ibn al-Khaṭīb¹²⁰ found that clothing (libās) is made at Azammūr.

Marrākash (Morocco) is poorly documented, and it is only as late as the Sa'dian dynasty that I have found any information about textiles there at all. The *Nuzhat al-Hādī*¹²¹ tells of a palace called al-Badī' which

was built by the monarch al-Manšūr of that dynasty (986–1002 H. [1578–93 A.D.]): "One of the secretaries said: Curtains embroidered with gold, of perfect workmanship (sutūr mudḥahhaba muḥkama al-šanā'a) were embroidered (ṭarraza) in it, so that the four sides of the Ḳubba al-Kḥamsiniya might be covered with them. These curtains were called by the Arabs 'Ḥā'itī'." This carpet had four directions (ḍjihāt), that is, probably, like prayer-carpets with their arched pattern in each of which were inscribed some verses which are given by the author.

South of Marrākash we have a small group of towns which made some kind of cloth. Chief of those was Aghmāt from which, according to Idrīsī:¹²² "They send to the black country a large number of camels laden with red copper of various colors, robes (kisā'), woollen cloth, turbans, mantles (mi'zar), necklaces of glass beads, mother-of-pearl, stones, various drugs and perfumes, manufactured iron utensils." Northeast of Aghmāt were Dāi and Tādala. Idrīsī¹²³ tells us that "Dāi is much visited by caravans. In it and the environs much cotton is cultivated, but less so than at Tādala which produces a considerable quantity which is exported in all directions. Nearly all the tissues (of cotton) used in the West Maghreb come from these lands. Because of this cotton they do not need to import any other kinds from other regions." In the territory of al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā "there are made in Sūs fine robes, and precious garments which cannot be made in any other country. . . . Their women have skill in craftsmanship." The Safsārī garments of the modern Wādī Nūn in southwest Morocco have already been

¹¹³ Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. J. H. Kramers, p. 80.

¹¹⁴ *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 77.

¹¹⁵ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 72 ff.

¹¹⁶ Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, I, 653.

¹¹⁷ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 75.

¹¹⁸ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in M. J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber* (München, 1876), I, 84.

¹¹⁹ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, II, 37.

¹²⁰ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.*, I, 87.

¹²¹ Muhammad al-Ṣaghīr b. al-Ḥadīdj Muhammad al-Wufrānī, *Nozhet-el-Hādī, Histoire de la Dynastie Saadienne au Maroc* (1511–1690), ed. and trans. by O. Houdas, *P.E.L.O.V.*, III, II, 109, and III, 188. In a footnote the editor says, "La tenture dite Ḥā'itī se place derrière les sofas; les dessins qui les ornent représentent généralement des colonnades

avec arceaux et sont formés à l'aide de morceaux d'étoffes rapportés sur un fond uni."

¹²² Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 66.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, text, p. 74 ff.

mentioned, as well as "burnooses a pair of which is worth fifty dinars."¹²⁴

Twelve days away from Aghmāt and six from Fez was Sūḡ Fansūr¹²⁵ of which Bakrī¹²⁶ says: "Black burnooses are made there of so close a weave that they are rain-proof."

Other inland cities which were mostly trading-centers for the Arabs with Africa are mentioned by most of the travelers in those regions, often with details of some considerable sociological and ethnological interest. Some of the more important are noted here.

Speaking of Iwālātan, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa¹²⁷ says: "This place is two complete months away from Sidjilmāsa and the first place in the negro country. . . . The garments of its inhabitants

are lovely and imported from Egypt." Idrīsī¹²⁸ remarks that Takrūr (French Toucouleur in Senegal) is larger and has more trade than Salā. The inhabitants of the west of al-Maghrib al-Aḡṣā take wool, copper, and glass beads there, and bring back gold and slaves. Gold was the only really important product of this part of Africa, and Maghribi gold is often mentioned in early authors and was used in embroidery.

Another famous city of this type was Awdāghast of which Bakrī¹²⁹ says: "Garments with large skirts dyed red and blue are sent to this city." Yāḡūt¹³⁰ talks of its markets. It has now disappeared (it was fifty-one days from Sidjilmāsa).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, text, p. 59.

¹²⁵ Quatremère's edition of al-Bakrī's *Description de l'Afrique* has Fikūr.

¹²⁶ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 294.

¹²⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853-59), IV, 385 ff.

¹²⁸ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 3.

¹²⁹ Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

¹³⁰ Yāḡūt, *op. cit.*, I, 399. For this city see 'Umārī, ed. M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 and 47, and G. Yver, "Andaglost," *Encycl. Islām*, I, 516. According to Yver this city is probably between long. 10 and 11 degrees west of Greenwich, southwest of the military station of Tidjika in French Mauretania.

CHAPTER XIX

SICILY

THE ISLAND OF SICILY WAS ATTACKED BY THE Arabs in 212 H. (827 A.D.) by an expedition despatched from Sūsa by the Aghlabid ruler of Ḳairawān. A little after this Palermo, the capital, fell into Muslim hands. Only in 354 H. (965 A.D.) were the Muslims, who were composed of various racial elements, Arabs, Berbers, Spaniards, and others, really masters of the island.

In the year 300 H. (912-3 A.D.), the Caliph of Baghdad invested a certain virtually independent governor with the insignia of his approval as his deputy. The work entitled *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*¹ tells us that "the Caliph sent him the required investiture, and also standards and garments colored black, as well as a collar of gold." A little over half a century later, Ibn Ḥawḳal² speaks of a quarter in Palermo called al-Ḥāra al-Djādida, or The New Quarter, in which there were various markets including a Sūḳ al-Ṭirāziyīn, or Market of the Makers of Ṭirāz-stuffs. This quarter was presumably built some time after the capture of Palermo by the Muslims. Its foundation would then lie between that date and Ibn Ḥawḳal's notice (367 H. [978 A.D.]). The author remarks that the sultan has an arsenal (dār al-ṣanā'a) there, and that there were places called "The Cotton-dealers" (ḳaṭṭānūn), and the "Carders" (of cloth, ḥallādjūn).

Again he³ says: "Its sole excellencies are wool, and goat-hair (ṣha'r) . . . along with some linen garments, but it is only right that justice should be done to those, for they have

no parallel in excellence and cheapness. The tailored kind, cut into two pieces of fifty to sixty quarters (rubā'i—some cloth measure?) is more expensive than the corresponding cloth sold at Miṣr (Cairo), often at fifty to sixty dinars." Maḳḍisī⁴ confines himself to remarking that "from Sicily come excellent close-woven (ma'ṣūr) garments;" but he also found that "from Āmid there come garments of Rūmī wool and linen after the Sicilian manufacture."⁵

Nāṣir-i Khusrāw⁶ informs us that "Sicily belongs to the Sultan of Egypt, and they bring thence linen stuffs of great fineness, and pieces of cloth with borders (tafṣīlḥā bā 'alam), each one of which is worth the sum of ten dinars in Miṣr (Cairo)." The lady Raṣḥida, the aunt of al-Ḥākim, who died during his reign (386-411 H. [997-1021 A.D.]) left, among other valuables, thirty thousand Sicilian pieces of cloth (shikḳa Ṣikiliya).⁷

Idrisi⁸ who should be in a position to inform us about Sicily as his book was written at the behest of his patron, the Norman Roger II, gives only the short note that at San Marco much silk (ḥarīr) is produced, and Milazzo (Milāṣ) produces linen.

The city of Palermo was taken by the

⁴ Maḳḍisī (Mukaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1876, 2d ed., 1906), III, 239.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁶ Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau, Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1881), II, I, text, p. 41, trans., p. 112.

⁷ Yūsuf ibn Taghribirdī, *Abū 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghribirdī's Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. W. Popper, *Univ. California Publ. in Semitic Philology* (Berkeley, 1900-), II, 78.

⁸ Idrisi, *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero,"* trans. by M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (Rome, 1883), II, VIII, 254.

¹ Ibn 'Adhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. . . . Al-Bayano 'l-Mogrib*, ed. by R. P. A. Dozy (Leyden, 1848-51), II, 169, trans. E. Fagnan (Alger, 1901-4), II, 235.

² Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed., Leyden, 1938-39), p. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Normans in 464 H. (1071 A.D.) under Roger de Hauteville, and during their rule alone did Sicily have peace in which its people could rest secure. Arab culture continued to flourish, and it was even said that Roger himself was a Muslim. Travelers did not cease to visit the island, notably Ibn D̲j̲ubair⁹ (who performed the journey in 580 H. [1184 A.D.]). As an actual eye-witness, he was far better informed than other writers, and alludes to the ʿtirāz-factory there. Speaking of the castle of William the Good (1166–89), he says: “His above-mentioned servant whose name was Yaḥyā, one of the lads employed in the ʿtirāz-factory who used to embroider (ṭarraza) with gold in the King’s ʿtirāz, told us that the Frankish women become Muslims in his castle and are visited by the above-mentioned girls, but they keep that concealed from their king.”

Amari¹⁰ opines that the ʿtirāz existed be-

⁹ Ibn D̲j̲ubair, “Voyage en Sicile,” text and trans. by M. Amari, *Journ. Asiatique* (1845), XIX, 35.

¹⁰ Amari, *loc. cit.*, notes; “Il suffit d’avoir lu un peu l’histoire de Sicile pour se rappeler qu’il existait dans le palais royal de Palerme, une manufacture d’étoffes de soie, fondée à ce que l’on dit, par le roi Roger, au moyen des ouvriers que sa flotte avait

fore Norman times, though it is popularly related that the silk workers carried off by Roger’s (II) admiral from Thebes and Peleponnesus in 441 H. (1149 A.D.) founded the factory. It was in Thebes that Benjamin noticed many Jewish dyers of purple cloth. The Norman-Arab factory is well known to historians, and the *Répertoire chronologique* cites examples of its products, one of which, composed of silk, is dated as early as 528 H. (1133–4 A.D.). It was made at the “King’s Wardrobe” (khizāna al-malik) in the capital of Sicily (Madīna al-Ṣikīliya).¹¹ Grohmann claims that Palermo produced finely woven stuffs up till the thirteenth century. The cultural influences seem to have been African rather than Spanish, though a vigorous trade was carried on with that country in Ibn D̲j̲ubair’s time.

fait prisonniers en Morée l’année 1149. Je suis persuadé que cette manufacture existait longtemps avant, et que les captifs, hommes et femmes ne firent qu’augmenter le nombre des ouvriers.”

¹¹ See the *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, ed. É. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet (Le Caire, 1933–44), VIII, 184, the example reproduced in G. Migeon, *Les Arts du tissu* (Paris, 1929), p. 55. Examples are also reproduced in O. v. Falke, *Decorative Silks* (3d ed., London, 1936).

CHAPTER XX

ASIA MINOR OF MONGOL TIMES

THE SELJUK CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR IN the eleventh century brought territory that had previously been Byzantine into the sphere of Islam (Map 3). Some disconnected fragments of information on the manufactures of those cities which were later to become so famous for their carpets, still remain. Abu 'l-Fidā¹ quotes Ibn Sa'id (ob. 673 H. [1274 A.D.]) concerning the Turkomans: "It is there that the Turcoman carpets (al-buṣuṭ al-Turkumāniya) are made which are exported to all countries." Marco Polo says:²

The other two classes (in Turcomania besides the Turkomans) are the Armenians and Greeks, who live mixt with the former in towns and villages, occupying themselves with trades and handicrafts. They weave the finest and handsomest carpets in the world, and also a great quantity of fine and rich silks of cramoisy (kirmizi) and other colors, and plenty of other stuffs. Their chief cities are Konya (Kūniya), Savast (Sīwās), and Caesaria (Kaişariya).

Mustawfi gives the following cities as producing cotton: Sīwās, Konya, Malaṭiya, Angora (Anḡūra), Irbīl, and Arzan.³

It is very probable that the Armenians, driven out of their native land into what is known as Lesser Armenia, brought with them many of their local manufactures which were so famed in the first centuries of Arab rule. Bidlisī⁴ tells us that some Armenians estab-

lished themselves at Pazadjik (Bazardjik) near Mar'ash, and made a village, of which all the inhabitants, weavers by profession, are infidel Armenians. According to Ibn Baṭūṭa,⁵ Sis in Armenia makes stuffs called Dabizī.⁶ Of Laias (the classical Aegae), Marco Polo⁷ tells us: "You must know that all the spicery and cloths of silk and gold, and the other valuable wares that come from the interior, are brought to that city. And the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and other countries, come thither to sell their goods, and to buy what they lack."

Abu'l-Fidā⁸ quotes Ibn Sa'id for the manufacture of beautiful carpets (busuṭ milāh) at Aḡsarā (Ak-Sarai), and Ibn Baṭūṭa⁹ tells us that "there are made here carpets (busuṭ), called after it, manufactured of sheep's wool and there is not their equal in any other city. They are exported to Egypt, Syria, Iraq, India, China, and the land of Turks."

In Lādhik (the ancient Laodicea), according to Ibn Baṭūṭa,¹⁰ "they make cotton cloth (ṭhiyāb) here with borders (mu'lama) of gold, without any parallel; these last a long time because of the excellent quality of the cotton and the strength of the weaving. They are called after the town. Most of the people who carry on the work are Greek women, and there are many Greeks 'under protection' here."

'Umarī (700-48 H. [1301-48 A.D.])¹¹ tells us of the kingdom of Akirā south of

¹ Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḡwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 379, trans. (Paris, 1847-83), II, 134.

² H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 45 f.

³ Hāmd-Allāh Mustawfi Ḳazwinī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 95, 102, 98.

⁴ Shāraf Khan Bidlisī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde*, trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868-75), I, I, 241.

⁵ Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853-59), I, 163.

⁶ This is a doubtful reading with several variants.

⁷ Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 43.

⁸ Abu 'l-Fidā, *op. cit.*, text, p. 383, trans., II, 137.

⁹ Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 286.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 271.

¹¹ 'Umarī, *Al-'Umarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. F. Taeschner (Leipzig, 1929), p. 43. There seems some doubt about the name Akirā.

Sinope, a province on the northern border of the dominions of the Urkhān, and with Djabal al-Ḳāsis to the south of it. "From this country come inestimable quantities of silk (ḥarir) and laudanum which are taken to the Christian countries. Its silk is quite equal to Byzantine (Rūmī) brocade and cloth (ḳumāsh) of Constantinople. Most of it is exported."

PIERRE BELON

This Frenchman published a book of travel in Paris in the year 1555 which contains some details of considerable interest about the Turkish carpets of his time:¹²

Tous les tapiz coupez qu'on on apporte de Turquie sont seulement faits depuis la ville de Cogne (Konia) en Cilicie, iusques à Carachara, ville de Paphlagonie. Nous avons dit que les fins chamelots sont faits de poils de chevres à Angouri, qui est la premiere ville de Cappadoce: et les tapiz sont aussi faits de poil de chevres: mais ceux qu'on fait au Caire, ne sont guere beaux, car ils sont seulement tissuz en toile bigarée (the latter word may be the equivalent of the Arabic Abū Ḳalamūn). Ceux de Adena sont faits en feutres, fort legers et mols, à se coucher dessus. . . . Les femmes Iuifs, qui ont liberté d'aller le visage decouvert, sont communement par les marchez de Turquie, vendents des ouvrages faits à l'aiguille.¹³ . . . Elles vendent ordinairement serviettes, mouchouers, couurechefs, ceintures blanches, souilles d'orilliers et autres tels ouvrages de plus grande valeur comme pauillons de lits en diverses façons que les Iuifs achètent pour vendre aux estrangers. Les Turcs

¹² P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez* (Paris, 1588), fol. 182 b.

¹³ Though he says that Turkish women do sometimes sell goods despite the law.

prennent plaisir à avoir du linge blanc, et bien ouuré tellement qu'ils ne plaindront à y faire despence. L'on voirra vendre deux petits mouchouers ouvrez vingt aspres, desquels nous ne presenterions six sols au pays de France. L'on fait divers ouvrages sur le linge en Turquie, mais le plus commun est tel, que quand elles le veulent piquer, il faut premierement qu'elles desaignent la toile de peinture: laquelle puis suyuent entre deux fils, tellement que l'ouvrage represente la peinture. Nous n'avons point telle maniere d'ouvrage en usage, ne la maniere de piquer. Car les femmes suyuent l'entredeux des fils avec une aiguille fort deliée, en suyuant la peinture, elles font leurs ouvrages de diverses colours de soye. A peine pourroit on croire en noz pays que l'ouvrage sur le linge est bien receu et tenu cher en Turquie: et que l'on y en fait grande quantité. La raison est, que puisque les femmes sont ordinairement enfermées et qu'elles n'ont aucun mesnage à faire, aumoins qu'elles employent à faire quelque chose. Et elles n'ayants le filer en grand usage, passent leur temps à faire ouvrages en linge.

Of the silk manufactures of Turkey, he says:¹⁴

Les Turcs quelques habillements qu'ils facent, ou de drap, de soye, chamelot, ou Moncayar: ils les coustent de fine soye, et font cousture qui dure plus que le drap. Nous osons dire que les habillements qui sont cousus en Turquie ne sont nullement cousus que de fil de soye qui principalement est filé à Bourca (Broussa). Les cousturiers de Turquie, si l'on fait comparaison de leurs ouvrages à ceux qui sont cousus en Europe, cousent toutes besognes mieux et plus elegamment que ne font ceux du pais des Latins, tellement que l'on diroit que l'ouvrage d'Europe n'est que ravavdage au pris de leur: car quelque chose que ce soit, est si proprement reprins qu'on n'en voit point les coustures, et quelque ouvrage qu'ils faient, est si bien fait qu'on n'en sçaurait que redire.

¹⁴ Belon, *op. cit.*, fol. 204 a.

CHAPTER XXI

SEA-WOOL

IN SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA, A CERTAIN kind of cloth was made out of the threads of a large mollusk called *Pinna marina*, a genus of bivalve mollusks having a silk byssus or beard. This was known to the Arabs under the name of "sea-wool" (ṣūf al-baḥr). According to Dozy,¹ this kind of manufacture was as ancient as classical times and, indeed, is still practiced in Italy. Ignorant of the precise nature of this stuff, the Arab authors make some curious mistakes in their allusions to it. The earliest and most correct author who has heard of it is Iṣṭakhri² who says:

In Shantarīn (Santarem), at a certain time of the year, an animal comes forth from the sea, and rubs itself on the stones of the seashore and a down (wabar) as soft as khazz-silk with a golden color, lacking in nothing, falls off it. It is fine and small, and garments are woven from it which take on different colors during the day. The Umayyad kings (of Spain) used to put restrictions upon it, so that it was only exported secretly. The price of a garment is worth more than a hundred dinars, on account of its fineness and beauty.

This passage is reproduced in Maḳdisī³ with some additional details:

The marvels of this province (the Maghreb including Spain) are many, one of them being Abū Ḳalamūn. It is an animal which rubs itself on the banks of the seashore so that its down (wabar) falls from it. It is soft like khazz-silk, of a golden color, lacking nothing of that, and it is fine to the touch. It is collected and garments are woven of it which take on various colors during the day. The sultan prevents the export of it to other countries, apart

¹ See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1927), under ṣūf al-baḥr.

² Iṣṭakhri, *Viae regnorum* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1870), I, 42.

³ Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 240.

from that which is hidden from them. Sometimes the value of a garment of it reaches a thousand dinars.

This "sea-wool" has already been mentioned among the gifts which Maṣṣūr gave to the Christian princes in Spain in 387 H. (997 A.D.), but as compared with the 2285 pieces of ṭirāzī silk, there were only 21 pieces of this fabric.

Under the notice on the city of Saragossa, Yāḳūt⁴ informs us that the inhabitants were specially skilled in the manufacture of the sable (sammūr) which he seems to think is a woven stuff made in their factories and called Saraḳuṣṭī stuff after it. The same confusion exists in Maḳḳarī⁵ who cites al-Ḥidjārī (of the early twelfth century): "The sammūr (sable) from the down of which the valuable furs are made, is found in the Atlantic (al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ) in Andalus in the direction of the island of Britain, and imported to Saragossa where it is manufactured." In this passage he seems to be talking of the seal, but he quotes another author: "When Ibn Ḡhālīb mentioned the down of the sable which is manufactured in Cordova, he said: 'As regards this above-mentioned sable, I am uncertain what is meant by the term, whether it is a plant there, or the down of the known animal. If it is the known animal it is in the sea and comes to the land. It has great power of distinction.'" Both Maḳḳarī and Yāḳūt quote similar legends about this animal, which, I think, must refer to the *Pinna marina*.

The other province where this stuff was made was Africa in the town of Ṣafāḳus, which was a noted textile-manufacturing city also.

⁴ Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-73), III, 78.

⁵ Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855-61), I, 121.

'Umari⁶ quoting an earlier source shows us the wide area where those garments were used:

The Sultan (of Ifriqiya), according to Ibn Ban-nūn, is distinguished from other people by wearing garments of *khazz*-silk of a black-green color named nut-colored (*Djawzi*), dust-colored (*ghubāri*) and *Nafti* (from the town of *Nafta*). This silk is extracted from the sea, says Ibn Sa'id, at *Ṣafākus* in the Maghreb and I have seen how it is gathered. Divers dive into the sea and bring out tubers like onions with a kind of neck which has hairs on the upper part. These tubers like onions, burst, and let forth hairs (threads) which are combed and become like wool. They spin it and make a woof of it so as to pass a warp of silk through it. They make a checked (*mukhattam*) stuff or stuff without checks. The most magnificent royal garments at Tunis are made of them. The price of a garment sometimes reaches a thousand dinars of Egyptian or Syrian money. I may add that I have seen high secretaries of the offices of Damascus wearing those garments, then I saw them worn at Cairo by the secretaries. It

⁶ 'Umari, *Maṣālik al-Aḥṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, trans. by M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, I. *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte* (*Bibliothèque des géographes arabes*, II) (Paris, 1927), 126.

is what the Egyptians call fish-down (*wabar al-samak*).⁷

The traveler *Tidjāni* (703–8 H. [1306–9 A.D.])⁸ confirms this: "There is found in its (*Ṣafākus*) seas, the wool of which the fine tissues destined to be worn by the princes are manufactured." It is probable that wherever there were manufactures of this sea-wool, there were also *tirāz*-factories belonging to the reigning monarch for it seems to have been a royal monopoly. Perhaps it is that material which *Dimashki*⁹ intends when he talks of a fish which is dried and made into cotton and clothes called *s m kin* are made of it. This fish was found in the Yemen Sea.

⁷ Cf. *Ḳalkaṣhandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), V, 142.

⁸ *Al-Tidjāni*, "Voyage du Scheikh et-Tidjani," (partial) trans. by A. Rousseau, *Journ. Asiatique* (1852), IV, XX, 128.

⁹ *Al-Dimashki, Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din . . . ed-Dimichqui, texte arabe*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 165, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, trans. M. A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 222. A stuff of this name is also described by Ibn al-Baiṭār.

CHAPTER XXII

TECHNICAL METHODS

THE ARAB AND PERSIAN AUTHORS DISPLAY little interest in manufacturing processes and the earlier the author the truer this statement is. However the manuals of *ḥisba* have preserved some indications of the technical methods of the craftsmen of their time, and this is specially true in regard to silk. We have several accounts of the rearing of the silk-worm in the works of naturalists. The following is *Ḳazwīnī's* version of the process:

An account of the silk-worm (*dūd al-ḳazz*). It is a small animal which, when it has been sufficiently looked after, seeks its natural habitat among trees and thorns. It passes fine threads from its saliva, and weaves a cocoon round itself like a bag so as to obtain protection from heat and cold, wind and rain. It sleeps until a certain time—all that by instinct. The nature of its preservation is one of the wonders of the world. It takes place in this wise, that, at the beginning of Spring (*Rabi'*), when the mulberry leaf appears, they take the eggs and tie them in a rag, then the women place this under their breasts so that the heat of the body may affect them for a week, then they are spread on some mulberry leaves shredded with the scissors. The thing moves and eats some of this leaf; then it eats no more for three days, and they say that it is in its first sleep. Then it starts eating again, and eats for a week, then leaves off eating for three days, and they say that it is in its second sleep. The same happens once more, and they say that it is in its third sleep.

After that a great deal of fodder is allowed to it so that it may eat largely and begin to form the cocoon (*failadj*). Thereupon something like the web of the spider appears upon its body. If rain falls at this period, the cocoon becomes soft with the moisture of the dampness so that the worm pierces it and comes forth from it. When the worm has completed the formation of the cocoon it is exposed to the sun so that the worm may die in it, and the *ibrishm*-silk be taken from the cocoon. Some of the cocoons however are left for the worm to pierce them and come forth to lay eggs. These are collected and preserved for the coming year in a clean pot of clay (*ḳhazaf*) or

glass. *Ibrishm*-silk garments are useful against itch and rubbing, and do not breed lice.¹

Damiri somewhat amplifies this account of which the most important parts are extracted and set forth here:

It comes forth in warmish localities without being hatched if it is tied up in a purse or placed in a casket. Sometimes it is late in coming out, upon which the women tie it up and place it under their breasts. . . . A white rug is placed to catch the eggs of the females. After this both die. That is what is done if it is desired to have the eggs, but if it is desired to have the silk, ten days after its finishing the process of weaving a cocoon, it is left in the sun for a day or part of a day, upon which it dies. . . . Sometimes it is squeezed with the hand until it dies, so that the silk may not be torn and it may come off entire.²

*Miskawaihi*³ hints at a machine for spinning silk, but unfortunately, the text is not really altogether precise.

"Have you ever seen the *ibrishm*-silk spinner winding it (silk ?) on a number of distaffs (*mighzal*) attached to hooks on polo-sticks (*sawladjān*) (as it were) of glass? I said I had—he went on: Do you not know that all the trouble of the worker consists in setting up and arranging the machine; after that he has only to watch the tails of the distaffs and keep on twisting them? Now we have arranged the machines, the distaffs that are revolving, the silk is taut, and the winding is proceeding; but if we leave the place, the force of the revolution will weaken, there being no motor power to renovate it; it will begin to slacken, the velocity of the revolution of the distaff will be reduced, and they will begin to unwind, revolving to the inverse direction. No one will be there

¹ *Ḳazwīnī, el-Cazwīnī's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), I, 434.

² *Damiri, Kitāb al-Hayawān*, trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906–8), I, 795. Cf. J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaʿfī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), text, p. 58, trans., p. 41, and T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia 1627–1629*, ed. Sir W. Foster, Broadway Travellers (London, 1928), p. 171.

³ *Miskawaihi, The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, II, 230, trans., V, 244.

to attend them, so that, one by one, they will fall off, and finally none remain.

Regulations for the manufacture of spindles are to be found in Ibn 'Abdūn: "The muḥtasib must prevent the weavers (*ghazzāl*) from nailing the iron of the spindles (*mighzal*) for they come out by the loosening effect of what is being spun from them, very soon, and that is a cause of their crookedness."⁴ Other regulations are given by the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*: "Spindle-makers. They must not use any wood for spindles (*mirdan*) other than that of the *sāsam*, or red mimosa nilotica (*sant*), free of knots and worm. For if it is hollow and a woman spins with it, it breaks straightaway. The same applies to the copper (*naḥās*) used therein, which must be hammered brass (*naḥās aṣfar maḍrūb*). They must not make them hollow but solid."⁵

The same author informs us about further processes in the preparation of silk:

Silk-makers. Raw silk (*ḥarir al-ḳazz*) must not be dyed before being bleached in order that it may not afterwards deteriorate. But some do it in order to get an increase in weight. Some mix Syrian silk (*al-ḥarir al-Ṣha'mi*) with local (*baladi*) silk and sell it as Syrian; and they mix dyed *ḳazz*-silk with dyed *ḳatārish* (silk ?). Some weight silk with prepared starch, others with melted butter or olive-oil. Some mingle with the skein a quantity of some other material for purposes of fraud.

Dyers. Most dyers of red silk (*ḥarir*) and other thread and materials, dye in their workshops (*ḥanūt*) with henna instead of madder (*fuwwa*) and the dye appears bright; but when the sun strikes in, its color deteriorates and its brightness disappears. Some take money from a customer to dye *kuḥli* (a dark blue verging on black). They dip the stuff into a substance called *djarrāda* (locust), remove and treat it

⁴ Ibn 'Abdūn, "*Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Seville au début du xii-ème siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn*," ed. and trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Journ. Asiatique*, CCXXIV (1934), 251, text, p. 59.

⁵ Ibn al-Uḳhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 279.

with froth from the vat and return it to the owner. It is not long before it reverts to its original color. On each article, the owner's name must be written in ink lest it be changed for something else. Most dyers pledge their customers' property or hire it to persons who wear it. This is dishonesty.⁶

Thus speaks the Egyptian author of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and similar material is to be found in the Spanish manual of *ḥisba* by al-Saḳaṭi of Malaga about the close of the eleventh century.⁷

"Another fraudulent practice in the manufacture of veils (*ḳunū'*) of silk, and turbans of twisted silk (*'amā'im maftūla'*) or turbans twisted in a ready-made form,⁸ is that they make them of raw silk (*ḥarir naiy*), dye them *kuḥli*, and pour gum (*ṣamgh*) on them. That is fraud and trickery, because, when worn a little, the threads give, and the fabric becomes like a net of no use to anybody." In this connection it might be well to quote Bakrī who lived about the same period: "At Awdāghast one sees gum-trees whose products are sent to Spain where they are used to glaze (*lustrer*) silken stuffs (*dibādj*)."⁹

Despite the injunctions of the muḥtasibs, this seems to have been a recognized practice of weavers for we find a description of it in the *Arabian Nights*¹⁰ where the scene is set in Khurasan, though the final form of this work took shape in Mameluke Egypt:

On the following morning the damsel took the curtain (she had told her lover to buy "a piece of

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 176.

⁷ Al-Saḳaṭi, *Un Manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), *Publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, XXI, p. 62.

⁸ Compare the turbans made at Ḳal'a Hammād (Chapter XVIII, note 79), perhaps after this type.

⁹ Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 299. "Glaze," literally "to gum" (*ṣamagh*), with the gum known as "gum Arabic"?

¹⁰ *The Arabian Nights*, trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 493.

silk as much as will suffice for a curtain, and gold and silver thread [ḳaṣab aṣfar wa-abyaḍ] and silk thread of seven different colors") and worked a border to it (ṭarraza) with colored silk, and embroidered (zarkasha) it with the ḳaṣab, and placed a girdle in it with the figures of birds. Around it she placed figures of wild beasts, and there was not a wild beast in the world that she omitted to portray upon it. She continued working upon it for eight days and when it was finished she cut it and glazed it¹¹ and then gave it to her master, saying to him: "Repair with it to the market, and sell it for fifty pieces of gold."

The passage seems to portray a Persian rather than an Egyptian scene, but whatever the case may be it confirms the supposition that a great many of the finest fabrics were made in private houses by the women.

Again we must turn to the work of al-Saḳaṭī for information about silk tailoring and marketing:¹²

Now the silk-brokers have a kind of trick for raising the price in their selling and buying. It lies in that they sell, and then buy from another, and take both commissions, one from the seller for selling, and one from the buyer for buying. They raise the price of silk when it is being put up for sale, their aim being merely to sell it to others, not to buy it themselves. This is how they act with silk garments (ḥarīr), selling them for ready cash, and on credit. They add borders (rasm) of gold for that is a sought-after thing therein, and a piece of silk is valued according to the two borders. All this is profiteering (ribā'), which is against the law.

Another of their fraudulent practices is that the first border (rasm) of the garment does not resemble the second in fineness of gold, pleasing workmanship and excellence of manufacture. The garment is lacking in woof (ḳaiyim) and of little worth for making into garments, and sometimes its length and breadth are too short, and things after this fashion. The usual size is sixteen *dhīrā'* in length and four spans (*shibr*) in breadth. It used to be made in fifty-two baits (divisions of a weaver's comb), and weigh from sixteen ounces. Sometimes it is less, but that is fraudulent and criminal. Material which is less than forty-two

baits in the loom, and lighter than eleven ounces in weight, is bad, and the manufacture of it must be prohibited, and must be cut if found.

Linen thread differs from silk (ḥarīr) thread in the loom (minsadj). Whatever is fine has many baits and is light in weight, that being because silk thread is all of one kind, but linen thread is of many kinds. The bait consists of forty teeth, and the number of threads is eighty, and the threads of the warp (? *muṭhla*) are one hundred and twenty.¹³

Al-Saḳaṭī, Ibn 'Abdūn and the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* all contain regulations for the tailors. The first tells us:

The muḥtasib must watch over the tailors to see that they do not sew with one thread only, nor yet with a whole (length of) thread, because it cannot be strong on account of its length, and the sewing will be loose. He must be on the watch for loose stitching of robes of cloth by the makers of garments "to order." Moreover there have been cases of persons who have fraudulently put sand in the hollow of the plate of the balance and taken cloth to the amount of that weight.

He must watch the "cutting" (*tafṣil*), for there are some rascals among them who cut out the whole (correctly) but curtail those parts of the garment which correspond to the hips and the waist. They act in a similar fashion with regard to the rectangular pattern in which the garment is placed, so that it is narrow, and the cloth thus cut is stolen. Similarly they make the sleeves of the cloth of the robe (*ṭhawb al-kisā'*) too narrow, and tack the sewing in it, wishing to make it (appear) bigger. When the robe is worn a little the threads escape, the various sections of it fall apart, and the purchaser is at a loss. Similarly they make the necks (*ṭawḳ*) of linen garments wide so as to appear complete on inspection. On being worn they hang down the side of the body of the wearer.¹⁴

Ibn 'Abdūn further says:

He (the muḥtasib) must prevent the kamd (action de donner le cati) of the garment of w r gh nāl (an unknown stuff) for it can scarcely be free from defects. He must place the control of that in the

¹¹ This term "ṣaḳala" might mean "to iron," though it is translated thus by Lane as "glaze."

¹² Al-Saḳaṭī, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

¹³ Much of the translation of this author is at present uncertain, owing to the many strange words he uses.

¹⁴ Al-Saḳaṭī, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

hands of a man skilled in the art of ḥishāya (the trade of the maker of padded or thick garments).

He must prevent the workers at this trade (ḥaṣḥā) and furriers (farrā') from making the openings at the neck of robes very wide; for they only do that so that the robe may lie flat on the wearer though it is too short. He must prevent the ḥaṣḥā' from making the front parts of a furred robe (maḳā-dim) of the padded garments (maḥāshi), too long.

If they make the cotton equal it is a fraud and a deceitful practice. It is necessary that ordinary silk should be sewn with a very thick thread for it is very fine and breaks easily.¹⁵

The *Ma'ālim al-Kurba* says:

Tailors must be ordered to cut out properly and shape the neck (ṭawḳ) well, to make the ornamental borders (taḍāris) wide, the sleeves of equal length, and the skirts even. Raised seams are better than tacking. The needle is to be fine and the thread contained in the eye short—a long one frays and weakens. A valuable piece of stuff must be measured before it is cut out. Valuable stuff like silk or brocade must be accepted by weight only, and when the tailor has sewn it he must return it with the same weight to its owner. . . . Some will impregnate a piece of silk or the like with water and salt in order to increase its weight to correspond with what they receive. . . .

If a customer brings a piece of stuff with orders, that if it is sufficient, it is to be made into a shirt, and the tailor cuts it without measuring and then finds it insufficient, the amount payable is the difference in value between the cloth as it was whole, and after it was cut.

Repairers (raffā') must not repair a khazz-silk garment received from a fuller or cloth-beater (daḳ-ḳāk) except in the owner's presence. Embroiderers (muṭarriz) and ornament-stitchers (raḳḳām) must not transfer embroidery (raḳm) from one garment to another which fullers or cloth-beaters may bring them. . . . On each garment the owner's name must be written.¹⁶

During the course of this work various kinds of cloth have been mentioned without any exact specification as to their precise nature. Some of these stuffs are described in the

Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra, but even here the description is vague.¹⁷

Of ibriṣm-silk, the author says: "The best variety is pure and lovely-colored in kind, free of all variations (in color or texture) and stains which confuse some of its threads. The thread should be of one shape, and not some coarse and some fine, nor bulging.¹⁸ Good quality is recognised by the heaviness in weight and whenever I have seen a web (luḥma) of a heavy weight, it is better."

It seems to have differed from khazz-silk which he describes as follows:

Indications as to its quality are sought in its fringes (hudb) so as you may ascertain the strength of its warp (sadā). By touching it one seeks to ascertain the quality of the tissue (nasaḳj). Perception of its color adds to one's knowledge of the warp and the quality (lams). The largest size that it ought to be is fifteen dhīrā' by a breadth of four spans (shibr), but what is lesser is good. The best variety is that which has a close weave, is heavy in weight, and most closely resembles the asmaṭū (?) in its body (djism). The worst variety is that which has a weak warp, is light in weight, lax of texture, pale of color, and of bad silk (ḥarir).¹⁹

Dibādj (brocade) he describes in the following terms:

There are various kinds. There is a kind used for clothing, another that is required for hangings and carpeting (farsh). The best variety is that which has a lovely dye (shibgh), a well-composed design (nuḳūsh), the silk (ḥarir) of which is fine, the texture close, the color of which is bright, the weight heavy, and which is free of burns in the process of smoothing. The cheapest variety is that which lacks these qualities. The best variety for tailoring (taṣīl) is 120 spans (shibr); the kind used for carpeting (farsh) and for hangings is a cloth (ṭhawb) of two hundred spans (shibr). If it is less than the kind usually used for a garment (kiswa) being less than enough in size, it is the greatest of faults for in that

¹⁷ Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimaṣḥkī, *al-Iṣhāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 25.

¹⁸ Mughaddad, "swollen with anger."

¹⁹ Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimaṣḥkī, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁵ Ibn 'Abdūn, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 and 249.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Uḳhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 171 b ff.

case it cannot be cut and cannot be used. If a piece of cloth should be found of a similar kind nobody will allow a piece to be cut from that for it.²⁰

Of *siqlātūn*, 'attābi and "cloth of one color" (*muṣmat*) which seem to be of the same nature, he says: "The best of all those is that which is made with the ḥaff (some kind of weaver's instrument), and not with the comb. In quality of silk and conditions it follows what has been described under brocade."²¹

The stuffs *naṣāfi* (usually made in Baghdad) and striped stuffs (*abrād*) are the subject of a long notice:

The best kind of these is that which is free of blemishes and *daṣhtaka*. The meaning of *daṣhtaka* is that a robe should be worn unbleached (*khām*) with its two selvages (*hāshiya*) joined, and it is sewn so that it becomes like the cloak (*ridā*). Or it is used, then split and washed. Thus after profiting by its use, they seek that its coarseness should be lessened and that it should acquire softness, but the person who wears it does not gain any advantage by that at all. The way in which *daṣhtaka* is recognised is that you look at rough garments and find them cut, and when you look at them to see through them you find places in them which have become so thin that they can almost be opened, and thick places. You look at the selvages and find them unsound because there are marks of the tailor in them. The quality of striped cloaks (*burd*) and napkins (*fūṭa*) and 'attābi is perceived by the threads of different colors. If some of them run into others and they differ in fineness, thickness, and bulge, then they are bad. If they are correct and properly arranged in stripes (*ṭariqa*) this indicates good thread (*ghazl*) and excellent weave (*naṣāj*), and good laundering.²²

The *naṣāfi* seems to have been a robe of white silk and was used by the Mamelukes, but as far as I know it was not an early type of material.²³

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²³ M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamlouks* (Paris, 1923), p. lxxxix.

The brocade-stuff known as *buzyūn* is sometimes mentioned by our authors, but it seems generally to have been a Byzantine (*Rūmī*) fabric and is enumerated by Ibn al-Faḳīh among a list of imports obtained by the venturesomeness of merchants.²⁴ *Djāḥiẓ* describes the various kinds of this brocade:

The best *buzyūn*-brocade is the *miskī* (musk-colored or musk-scented) of fine weave, then the striped (*mukḥattaṭ*) variety, then the robe which is embroidered with little circles like copper coins (*mufallas*), then the plain variety (without gold-*sādhidj*), then the robe embroidered with eyes (like those of wild animals—*mu'aiyan*), then the spotted kind (*munakkaṭ*). The mantle (or head-dress *ghifāra*) of a musk-color when of fine workmanship and pure, sometimes fetches fifty dinars in price.²⁵

This *buzyūn*, like the Armenian stuffs and *Maisānī*, was never interwoven with gold.

Various kinds of stuffs of this nature can, I think, be seen in the miniatures of the so-called "Mesopotamian School" of painting. In plate IV of Blochet's *Musulman Painting*, for instance, the figure on the extreme left may be wearing a checked (*mukḥattam*) stuff. In plate VII, the Chinese slave may be wearing a robe of the type named *mudannar* (ornamented with golden coins), or *mufallas* (ornamented with copper coins). Again, the youth in plate XXII, and Iblis in plate XXXII may be wearing *mukḥattam* (checked) robes. Doubtless a study of the figures in the pottery of Rayy and other districts would yield quite a number of identifications of textiles which we only know at present by name.²⁶ Some of the textiles in Blochet have *ṭirāzī* arm-bands.

²⁴ Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

²⁵ *Djāḥiẓ*, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 337.

²⁶ See the plates in E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, trans. by C. M. Binyon (London, 1929).

TİRĀZ INSCRIPTIONS

A great many garments bore tīrāz-inscriptions of an official or sometimes sentimental nature, and a number of verses of this latter kind have been preserved by two authors, Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, and al-Washshā' author of the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*. While it is impossible to quote more than one or two of those verses here, it would be fruitful to notice the varied selection of articles of apparel on which it was customary to embroider them. This fashion was not confined to Baghdad, or even to Iraq, but was spread all over Islam and imitations of such ornamental borders are even found in Christendom as well. The *Ikd* gives us the following verse which a lover wrote upon the brow of his mistress, but it is typical of those found in the tīrāz-borders and cited there:

Across her brow with musk
Three lines I traced, as stray
Soft moon-entangled clouds;
"God curse those who betray."
Then took her hand and said,
"List what it has to say.
All things but faithlessness
Love can dissolve away."²⁷

The same author tells us, on the testimony of an eyewitness, that in Harun al-Rashid's court there were girls wearing headdresses ('ishāba, a kind of turban), decked with pearls and jacinth, with verses written upon them. Another of these girls wore a crescent on the front of her dress with verses inscribed in it, and a slave of al-Mutawakkil had a gown (qabā') also inscribed. Other articles which bore such lovers' verses were tunics (qurtuq), qalansuwa-caps, girdles (minṭaq), and shirts (dir') of raw silk (khām).

The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* gives an even more varied selection on all kinds of clothing. We read of a girl who wears a cloak (ridā')

embroidered with an all-over pattern with circles like eyes (mu'aiyan) and a tīrāz-border; there is another with a blouse (qamiṣ) of mulham-stuff, girt with an ornamented belt of gold (wishāḥ), both the belt and the sleeves having a tīrāz-inscription.²⁸ Another girl had a gown (durrā'a) of mulham-stuff with ornaments of ibrisim-silk, and a collar (lubna) of sūsandjird upon which there was an inscription as well as on the sleeves. It seems too that Rashīdī cloaks (ridā') bore these inscriptions, and also miṭraf-cloaks of khazz-silk.

Al-Washshā' tells us that a slave girl belonging to one of Ma'mūn's sons had a qalansuwa-cap of brocade embroidered after this fashion with verses, while Djāḥiẓ saw a girl's headdress (karzan) and 'ishāba each bearing couplets in gold. Even the wiḳāya (a band to hold the hair in place) was ornamented.

Again he talks of belts (zunnār), trouser-cords (tikka), and kerchiefs (or napkins, mandil) which latter lovers used to send as presents to one another, all bearing inscriptions. The zunnār was a name applied to the bands used to tie up the hair also (zunnār al-wiḳāya).

The furnishings of the houses of private (and wealthy) individuals also had these amatory verses marked upon them. We read of curtains (sutūr), pillows (wasīda and mi-khadda), carpets (busuṭ), and cushions marā-fīḳ) of this kind, and he further mentions a curtain of azure silk (killa ḥarīr asmāndjūnī) with a gold inscription. He includes verses which were seen on a curtain belonging to one of the children of Mutawakkil, and upon curtains belonging to al-Hādī ibn al-Mahdī. At this early date there were even prayer-carpet (muṣallā) with such inscriptions.²⁹

²⁸ Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), pp. 167, 168 (reading تراين for ترابين), 169, 170, 173.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 177, 178.

²⁷ Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Ikd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 370 ff.

LINEN

A very complete account of the preparation of the flax is to be found in Ibn 'Awwām in his treatise on agriculture, but as it is very long and the process does not materially differ from that in use in most countries, it has not been given here.³⁰ However a short passage from the *Maḥāsīn al-Tidjāra* might be worth quoting: "Many articles have various requirements, as in the case of flax (*kattān*) which, after wetting and maceration, must have the dust shaken off it, and must be beaten and combed (*maṣḥaṭa*), spun and prepared (*ṭabakha*) followed by other processes of weaving."³¹

The *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* says: "The best Egyptian flax is the white (?) *dj nawī* variety, and the best variety of that is the smooth-leaved, and the worst the short rough variety which snaps easily. The poor quality must not be mixed with the good nor that from Lower Egypt with that from Upper Egypt, nor that from Upper Egypt with the *Kūrī* variety; all such practices being fraudulent."³²

COTTON

The *Maḥāsīn al-Tidjāra* says: "Its quality is perceived by weighing through weight, that which is lightest indicating that it contains the least amount of seed, and by inspection through its whiteness and freedom from husks (*kuṣhra*), by easy falling apart, and touch, by resilience and softness."³³

There is a somewhat similar passage in the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*:

Cotton-spinners. They must not mingle new cotton with old, nor red with white. The cotton must

³⁰ Ibn 'Awwām, *Le Livre de l'agriculture d'Ibn al-Awwām (Kitāb al-felāḥah)*, trans. by J. J. Clément-Mullet (Paris, 1864-67), II, 106-14.

³¹ *Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashkī, op. cit.*, p. 4.

³² Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 178.

³³ *Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashkī, op. cit.*, p. 24.

be carded frequently so that the black husks and broken seeds shall be removed. If the seed is allowed to remain it shows in the weight, and if left in a *djubba* (mantle) or blanket (*liḥāf*), and washed and beaten, it will cut the article and the people's clothes will suffer damage. Some card the bad red cotton and place it at the bottom of the pile with clean white cotton on top and this does not appear in the spinning. . . . The carded cotton when finished, must not be placed in cold wet places, for that increases its weight which diminishes when it dries. That is fraud.³⁴

FELTS

Al-Sakaṭī of Malaga says: "He (the *muḥ-tasib*) must watch that the makers of felts (*lubūd*) do not make them of the wool of any thing that has died of itself. That is to be perceived by the difference in smell. Nor must they be made from the wool of the heads. That is to be perceived by its coarseness. They are made to seem good, and gum (*ṣamgh*), not starch (*nashā*), is poured (onto them)."³⁵ He gives specifications as to the required length, breadth, and weights of the felts, but unfortunately there is a lacuna here in each of the manuscripts. Ibn 'Abdūn knows a similar regulation: "The felt-makers (*labbād*) must be ordered to perform their work well for they make them (the felts) lax, not close together, with little wool, and quite useless. The wool must be shaken thoroughly free of gypsum."³⁶

The *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* of Egyptian origin adds:

A trustworthy member of their profession must be placed in charge of them. He must prevent them from using the wool of anything that has died of itself. That is distinguishable by its softness and ill-odor. Further, he must prevent them from using the wool of the heads—this is recognised by its roughness. The weight of a red felt must be four *raṭl*s, and a blue one and a red saddle-felt (*mirṣhaḥa*), a *raṭl* and a half. The thread of all felts must be well

³⁴ Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 177.

³⁵ Al-Sakaṭī, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

³⁶ Ibn 'Abdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

made, and the gum must be moistened without any wool-flock.³⁷

The *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* written by a Damascan, says:

The choicest variety is the kind with a fine weave, strong web, and pleasing color, and which is strong on account of the amount of its rubbing, and the wool of which is soft. The sign of softness is that when looked at from behind it is a uniform piece without any thin or thick place. The worst kinds are these which are contrary to these qualifications. He must be on the look-out for dust in them. They become worm-eaten when they remain some time without being used."³⁸

According to *Djāḥiẓ*:

"The best felts are the Chinese (Ṣinī), then the red Maghribī variety, then the white Ṭāliḳān felts, then the Armenian variety, and then the Khurasan kind."³⁹

VARIOUS NOTES

Of the two varieties of large carpets, called bisāṭ and ṭinfisa, the *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* says: "The best are those, the dye of which (ṣibgh) is good, and which are of close weave, and which from outside are firmer than from inside. For laxness indicates looseness of weave. As regards softness of wool, it is a good quality in all kinds."⁴⁰

³⁷ Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 283.

³⁸ *Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashki, op. cit.*, p. 27.

³⁹ *Djāḥiẓ, op. cit.*, p. 338. Cf. the quotation in Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923-37), I, 366.

⁴⁰ *Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashki, op. cit.*, p. 27.

Of Ḳalansuwa-caps, the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* tells us: "The makers of ḳalansuwa-caps must use new pieces of stuff, either of silk or linen and not old dyed pieces. For there are some who (fake) that by starch (nashā) and gum (ṣamgh)." ⁴¹

The following general regulations are to be found in the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* and seem to apply to all kinds of cloth:

Regulations for Weavers (ḥāka).

The stuff must be well-woven, compact in texture, and of the full length, breadth and workmanship agreed upon, the thread to be made free of black husks (ḳushra) by means of rough black stone. The muḥtasib must prevent them from sprinkling flour and roasted gypsum over it when it is woven to hide its roughness and so that it may appear as if closely woven and of good quality. . . . He must enjoin them, when they weave a new piece of stuff, not to dye the thread until it has been bleached, but no black thread should be bleached for it turns yellow and does not hold any (color), to the loss of the purchaser. There are some who weave the surface of the cloth of good and uniform thread, and the rest of a different kind. . . . When a weaver receives thread from a man for weaving him a garment he must take it by weight. When he has woven it he must return it to its owner by weight so as to ward off suspicion. If the owner of the thread claims that the weaver has changed the thread, and if he has a sample of the thread but the weaver declares it is the same, the muḥtasib must take them before persons of experience. If he has no sample or proof, the weaver shall swear that he has not changed it. ⁴²

⁴¹ Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 175.

⁴² *Ibid.*, No. 171 a ff.

CHAPTER XXIII

DYERS

THROUGHOUT THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS INCIDENTAL notes on dyeing have appeared scattered here and there, but the strange and prominent fact is that in all Muslim countries, the Jews seem to have been the principal workers in this craft though it was not confined to them alone. *Djāhiz* tells us that "the *ķirmiz* is a grass in the root of which there is a red worm, which grows in three places in the world—in the Maghreb quarter, in the land of Andalus, and in a district called *Tārum* (part of Shiraz), and in the province of Fars. Nobody can recognize this grass and where it is likely to be found except a sect of the Jews who have charge of plucking it each year in *Māh-Isfandārmudh*."¹ Thus the Jews possessed trade secrets unknown to other peoples, and obtained a certain monopoly in the art. The best of this *ķirmiz*, according to Ibn al-Baiṭār comes from Asia, Cilicia, but more especially from Spain.² Bar Hebraeus³ tells us that: "the behavior of the Arabs hath long been manifest in the world, and up to the present day no Jew hath ever been raised to a position of exalted honor amongst them; and except as a tanner or dyer, or tailor (the Arab⁴) doth not appear among the Jews."

¹*Djāhiz*, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 339.

²Ibn al-Baiṭār, "Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beithar," trans. N. L. Leclerc, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, XXIII, XXV, XXVI (Paris, 1877-83), XXVI, 74 f.

³E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), I, 490.

⁴The translation (which in general is admittedly unreliable) is probably incorrect here and the word "Arab" suggested by the translator should be deleted. The sense of the passage is thus altered to convey that the Jews exercise only the three above-named profes-

Benjamin of Tudela gives us the exact number of (families of) Jews in the various places he visited.⁵ They were to be found in Brindisi, Bethlehem, Beit Nuba (near Ramle where there was the Umayyad *Dār al-Ṣab-bāghin*, the Dye-house), Jaffa, Zerin (or Jezreel), and *Ḳaryatain* (a village on the Palmyra-Damascus route). There were no Jewish residents among the Druses, "but a certain number of Jewish handicraftsmen and dyers come among them for the sake of trade." Of Jerusalem, he even says: "It contains a dyeing-house for which the Jews pay a small rent annually to the king (Baldwin II, died 1162, succeeded by his brother Almaric) on condition that besides the Jews no others be allowed in Jerusalem."⁶ Maḳdisi informs us that most of the dyers, bankers, and tanners of Palestine were Jews.⁷ Leo Africanus frequently talks of Jewish dyers in North Africa at a later date.

It seems that some kinds of dyes were taxed in the early period, for Balādhuri discusses the question of a tax on wars (a yellow-brown dye), wasma (a blue dye), katam (a variety of henna), and henna.⁸ Dyeing was subject to certain social regulations in the cities, probably owing to the dirt and disturbance which it caused. The Spanish author al-Saḳaṭi of Malaga says: "The muḥtasib

sions. In Southern Arabia to the present day these three professions are exercised by the Jews.

⁵*The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., pp. 25, 27, 28, 31, 18, 9.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 22. He mentions 200 Jews living under the tower of David, but a variant reading gives four only, and this agrees with the account of Rabbi Petachia.

⁷Maḳdisi (Muḳaddasi), *Aḥsanu-t-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat-l-aqālīm known as al-Muḳaddasī*, trans. by G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo, *Bibl. Ind.* (Calcutta, 1897-1910, incomplete), p. 301.

⁸Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 112.

must prevent the dyers from dyeing red with brazil-wood (*baḡḡam*) for it does not last, and from dyeing with every color but *saḥḥābī* (cloud-blue) in cotton and linen, for the dye in those two does not remain permanent, and that which is exposed for sale in the market is fraudulent and deceptive. Colors only shine when they are dyed taking into consideration the technical necessities of the material.”⁹ In another work of a similar kind by Ibn ‘Abdūn (of the eleventh to twelfth centuries), also a Spaniard, we find a like instruction: “The *muḥtasib* must order the tanners (*khullāṣ*) and those who dye silk (*ḥarīr*) that they dye only outside the town.”¹⁰

This regulation also applied to potters; but it does not always seem to have been strictly followed, for, during the reign of the Almohad Maṣṣūr and his son al-Nāṣir, the dyehouses, 116 of them, were inside the walls of Fez.¹¹

Again Ibn ‘Abdūn¹² adds: “The dyers must be forbidden to dye the color green with *mithnān* (according to Dozy “thymélé, garou, trenton, etc.”), nor yet with brazil-wood (*baḡḡam*) for azure (lawn *samāwī*, *isatis tinctoria*)¹³ and the color disappears quickly.” Of this *mithnān* Ibn al-Baiṭār adds: “It is called *mithnān* in Egypt and on the Syrian

coasts. Its husk is used to make halters for riding-animals especially at Gaza and Dāran where it grows abundantly in the sand.”¹⁴ The Egyptian *Ma‘ālim al-Ḳurba* enlarges on this subject:

Most dyers of red silk and other thread and materials dye with henna in their workshops instead of madder (*al-fuwwa*) and the dye appears bright; but when the sun strikes on it, its color deteriorates and its brightness disappears. Some take money from a customer to dye *kuḥlī* (bluish black). They dip the stuff into a substance called *Djarrāda* (locust), remove and treat it with froth from the vat and return it to its owner. It is not long before it reverts to its original color.¹⁵

The Thousand and One Nights has embodied an anecdote on dyers in a story that is probably of the late Egyptian period.¹⁶ Apparently cloth was not dyed wholesale but the customer brought it to the dyer who colored it according to his specification. One of the dyers says: “I dye red of various hues, as rose-color, and jujube-color; and green of various hues, as plant-green, and pistachio-green and oil-green, and parrot’s wing; and black of various hues, as coal-black and *kuḥlī*, and yellow of various hues, as orange-color and lemon-color;—and he proceeded to mention to him all the colors.” This is obviously a list of trade-names of these dyes. The Sultan later in the story opens a shop under the control of this dyer called “The Sultan’s Dyeing Shop.”¹⁷

⁹ Al-Saḡaṭī, *Un Manuel hispanique de hisba*, ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), *Publ. de l’Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, XXI, 63.

¹⁰ Ibn ‘Abdūn, “Un Document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Seville au début du xii-ième siècle: le traité d’Ibn ‘Abdūn,” ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Journ. Asiatique* (Paris, 1934), CCXXIV, 240.

¹¹ See Chapter XVIII.

¹² Ibn ‘Abdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

¹³ Cf. Maḡḡarī, *Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 91 and 92, and I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Zemah Duran* (London, 1930), p. 47, where it is a dye used by the Jews.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Baiṭār, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 291.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Uḡhuwwa, *Ma‘ālim al-Ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 176.

¹⁶ *The Arabian Nights*, trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), pp. 878, 882.

¹⁷ For further study on this subject, the following references may prove of interest.

Ibn al-Baiṭār, *op. cit.*, I, 245, etc.

Maḡḡarī, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

Ibn ‘Abdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

Arabian Nights, *op. cit.*, p. 934.

Iḍrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 74.

Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-73), III, 101-2.

Al-Dimashki, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, trans. M. A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 96.

Al-Hamdānī, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884-91), I, 53.

Abu 'l-Fidā, *Takwīm al-Buldān*, trans. T. Reinaud (Paris, 1847-83), II, 131.

'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad*, by S. de Sacy (Paris, 1810), p. 19.

Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashki, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 21 (for baḳkam).

CHAPTER XXIV

FURS

FURS WERE WIDELY USED IN THE COSTUME OF Abbasid times, and the survey hardly shows how generally they were employed by the wealthy and men of fashion. Even the manuals of *ḥisba* give regulations for their preparation. Ibn 'Abdūn says: "The furriers must be prevented from using the dung of birds in the preparation of worn-out furs."¹ The *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* informs us that "a trustworthy person of their craft must be placed in charge of them. They must not sell sheep-skin furs (*al-firā' al-kibāshīya*), etc., unless they are properly tanned and sewn, closely stitched. No old material may be mixed with new, nor any patched article. They must not be taken round houses so that some people get a preference over others. Nay, it must be taken to the market and sold there by rōup so that both strong and weak may obtain it."²

One of the most precious furs was the sable (*sammūr*), and the *Aghānī* mentions a mantle (*duwādīj*) of *khazz*-silk lined (*mubaṭṭan*) with sable,³ while Mustawfi Ḳazwīnī informs us that "the sable is the most expensive of furs."⁴ Marco Polo adds that "a robe of sable, large enough to line a mantle is worth 2,000 bezants of gold, or a 1,000 at least, and this kind of skin is called by the Tartars 'The

King of Furs.' The beast itself is about the size of a marten. The two furs of which I speak are applied and inlaid so exquisitely that it is something worth seeing."⁵ The Mongol emperor used them for lining his tents.

Damīrī in the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, tells us that: "This (the sable, *sammūr*) species of animal is specially selected in making furred garments out of its skins on account of its softness, lightness, warmth and beauty. Kings and Grandees wear them."⁶

Various authors give lists of the precious furs used in Baghdad by the wealthy, and *Djāhīz* says:

The best kind of squirrel fur (*sindjāb*) is the *Ḳāḳum* (ermine), then the backs of it, then the Khazar kind, then that of Khoresm, then the fur of hares which has no defect. The best kind of fox-fur (*ṭha'lab*) is the black Khazar type with coarse fur which has not been counterfeited with dye. Then comes the white kind, then the red kind which is colored red with clay, then the red Khazar variety, then the poplar-colored kind. The best kind of ermine (*ḳāḳum*) is that which has the longest tail. The best kind of sable is the Chinese (*Ṣīnī*) variety, followed by the Khazar kind of a bright white and deep black color with long hair.⁷

The list given in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* in the reign of the Buwaihid 'Aḍud al-Dawla consists of "the squirrel of *Khirkhīz*, the sable (*sammūr*) of Bulghār, the foxes (*ṭha'lab*) of the Khazars, the marten (*fanak*) of Kashgar, the ermine (*ḳāḳum*) of Tughuzghuz, and the soft skins (*ḥawāṣil*) of Herat."⁸ Nuwairī

¹ Ibn 'Abdūn, "Un Document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Seville au début du xii-ième siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn," ed. and trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Journ. Asiatique* (Paris, 1934), CCXXIV, 240.

² Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 284.

³ The 21st volume of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* . . . ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1888), p. 156.

⁴ J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), *Or. Trans. Fund*, trans., p. 18.

⁵ H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 391, II, 479, 480, 484.

⁶ Damīrī, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906-08), II, 81.

⁷ *Djāhīz*, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 335 f. Compare the passages from *Ḳalkāshandī*, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, cited by the editor here.

⁸ *Ṭha'alībī*, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 132.

copies this list.⁹ Gharnāṭī¹⁰ says: "We shall mention the special products of various countries in regard to furs, as one says—the squirrel (sindjāb) of Khirkhīz, the sable of Bulghār, the fox-skins of the Khazars, the soft skins (ḥawāṣil) of Herat, and the ḳ māḳ m¹¹ of Tughuzghuz." Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī gives little notes on the squirrel, marten, ermine, hyrax (wabar), the foxlike animal called waṣḥḳ, and the yāmūr.¹²

The post-Mongol author Ibn Baṭūṭa describes the ḳāḳum in these terms:

The ermine is the finest kind of fur. A fur of this kind is worth a thousand dinars in India, which sum (in the Maghreb) is worth 250 dinars. It is extremely white, and comes from the skin of a small animal a span (shibr) long. Its tail is long and they leave it in the fur as it is. The sable (sammūr) is inferior in value to the ḳāḳum. A fur of this kind is worth four hundred dinars or less. One of the qualities of these skins is that lice do not enter them, so the kings and nobles of China place one attached to their furs at the neck. The merchants of Persia and Iraq do the same.¹³

These furs were derived from several sources, though most of them came from the northeastern areas of the Muslim world, the district of Transoxiana, Central Asia, and from Russia. It was probably through this trade that the Muslim coins found as far as the Baltic reached there, for the geographers say that the Russians had very little else to offer in the way of merchandise.

Ibn Rusta says of the Rūsiya: "Their sole

⁹ Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369.

¹⁰ "Tuhfat al-Albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī," ed. and (partially) trans. by G. Ferrand, *Journ. Asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 212.

¹¹ It would seem that the word ḳ māḳ m is merely another variant of ḳāḳum, and that the translation "camel-hair-fur" given by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1920–21), has no foundation.

¹² Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, trans., pp. 23–26.

¹³ Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 401.

craft is the trade in sable (sammūr), squirrel, and other kinds of fur (wabar)."¹⁴ Iṣṭakhri adds: "From Arthā (the Volga) the black sable is brought. . . . These Russians trade with the Khazars, who in turn, trade with Rūm and Greater Bulghār."¹⁵ Ibn Ḥawḳal is rather better informed:

Fur is only brought to them (the Khazars) from the land of the Rūs and Bulghār, as also the beaver-skins (djulūd al-ḳhazz) which are exported to all regions. They are to be found only in these northern rivers in the country of Bulghār, the Rūs and Kūbāya. Those beaver-skins found in Andalus come from the rivers in the Slav country, and go to the river which is in the Slav territory. . . . Most of those skins, in fact, the greater part of them are found in the country of the Rūs.¹⁶

Again he tells us that "from Arthā (the Volga) the black sable, black foxfurs and tin are brought."¹⁷ Quoting Ibn Faḍlān, Yāḳūt informs us that: "Merchants travel on the Volga (Itil) to Wisū (the Finns?) and import a great deal of fur (wabar) such as beaver (ḳundur), sable (sammūr), and squirrel, (sindjāb)."¹⁸

Ibn al-Faḳīh knew that the Turks were famous for their sable and marten and that the Bulkārs have sable, ermine, and squirrel furs. When the ships of the Muslims came to trade with them they imposed a duty of ten percent.¹⁹

¹⁴ Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāk al-Nafisa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1892), III, 145.

¹⁵ Iṣṭakhri, *Viae regnorum . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1870), I, 226.

¹⁶ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . .*, *Descriptio nationis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1873), II, 281.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

¹⁸ Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), I, 113. See the notes and index in V. Minorsky's translation of the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, for Wisū and Burtās. Cf. Narshakhī, *Tārikh-i-Bukhārā*, ed. C. Schefer, *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1892), III, XIII, 287.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Bol-*

Mas'ūdī mentions in particular the Khazar tribe of Burtās whence—

the furs of foxes (tha'lab) both red and black are exported, called Burtāsiya. There are some of these skins, especially the black ones which are worth a hundred dinars and more. The red ones sell at a lower price. The former are worn by Arab kings and Persian ones who are proud to wear them, and value them more highly than the sable (sammūr), the marten (fanak) and so on. They make qalansuwa-caps, caftans, and cloaks (dawāwīdj) of them. There is hardly a king but possesses a caftan or cloak (duw-wādj) lined (mubattan) with these Burtāsi furs.²⁰

Ibn Ḥawkal states that the Khazars imported honey, khazz-silk (or beaver skins), wax, and furs (wabar),²¹ while the Hudūd mentions that near Issi-kül, in the mountain of Tūlas, many sable-martens, gray squirrels, and musk-deer are found, as well as in the Khirkhiz country.²² From the Turk country, Tha'alibi enumerates sable, squirrel, ermine (kāqum), marten (fanak), black fox furs (tha'lab), and white hares.²³ Yāqūt notes a place, Sarsan in Farthest Turkestan, where, he says, "There is a market in which the beaver (kundus), Burtāsi furs, sables, etc., are sold."²⁴

Khoresm and Transoxiana seem to have been the centers of the fur trade, which incidentally was largely in the hands of Jews, known as the Rahdāniya.²⁵ Discussing the town of Khawārizm, probably Kāth, Iṣṭakhri tells us that "marten, sable, foxfurs and beaver (al-khazz=djulūd al-khazz) and other kinds of furs come there."²⁶ The long account of

Maḳdisi has already been quoted under Khoresm.²⁷ Tha'alibi notes particularly the red and black foxes of Transoxiana.²⁸ Iṣṭakhri says: "From Ṣaghāniyān and Wāshdjird come saffron exported to other lands, and furs of the sable, squirrel, foxes, etc. which are taken to the furthest west."²⁹

Some furs apparently came from Spain and the Maghreb (North Africa). Ibn Khurdādbih says: "From the Maghreb Sea come beaver skins (djulūd al-khazz) and furs."³⁰ Both Iṣṭakhri and Maḳdisi found many sables (sammūr) near Toledo.³¹ Mustawfi adds that "in the Ṣuwar al-Aḳālīm (a work now lost) it is stated that in this country there are many sable-martens (sammūr)."³² Bakri informs us that in the deserts about Awdāghast and Sidjilmāsa there are martens (fanak) whose fur is exported to every land.³³

²⁷ Maḳdisi (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed. 1906), III, 325.

²⁸ Tha'alibi, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

²⁹ Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 288. Cf. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 399.

³⁰ Ibn Khurdādbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1889), VI, 92.

³¹ Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Maḳdisi, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

³² Mustawfi Ḳazwini (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfi Ḳazwini), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, *Gibb Mem. Ser.* (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 263. Cf. Hudūd al-'Ālam, p. 155, where Tudela is written instead of Toledo.

³³ Al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 322. Cf. Idrisi, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836-40), II, 340, 407. Al-Dimashki, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, trans. M. A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 194. Ibn Djubair, *The Travels of Ibn Djubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, *Gibb Mem. Ser.* (Leyden-London, 1907), V, 228. M. Minovi has supplied me with a reference to Abu 'l-Faḍl Baihakī, *Tārīkh-i-Baihakī* (Teheran, 1307 H. [1889-90 A.D.]), pp. 456-57.

dān, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 255, 141.

²⁰ Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. by C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861-77), II, 14. Cf. the Hudūd al-'Ālam, p. 464.

²¹ Ibn Ḥawkal, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

²² Hudūd al-'Ālam, pp. 62, 96.

²³ Tha'alibi, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

²⁴ Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, III, 76.

²⁵ See Appendix IV.

²⁶ Iṣṭakhri, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

APPENDIX I: COSTUME

IN THIS SURVEY MORE ATTENTION HAS been paid to the geographical distribution of manufactures than to costume, and several passages of great interest and importance have only been cited in occasional references. These passages give long lists of the famous manufacturers of the day and those selected here are all taken from authors who lived at Baghdad, thus implying that such stuffs were known there. The most interesting of these are to be found in Abu 'l-*Qāsim* of Baghdad, an author of uncertain date but who probably lived there about the second or third century. Satirizing the *Iṣfahānīs*, he says to them:¹

By Allāh, I do not see a single one of you wearing a garment of reddish Dabikī (*shukairi*), nor Dabkāwī (from Dabkā in the Delta), nor of *Qirāṭi* Zuhairī (perhaps he means a stuff with embroidered all-over patterns in the shape of the coins called *kirāt*, a fraction of a dinar, and manufactured in the Zuhairiya Quarter of Baghdad), nor reddish woven stuff (*baft kushairi*), nor Aden cloaks (*ridā'*), nor *tākhṭandj*, nor *rākḥṭandj*, nor garments of *kaṣab-linen* of Samannūd² and Damsīsī (from Damsīs in Egypt³), and Tinnīsī, and Dimyāṭi, nor yet Mudjalālī (?) stuff, nor figured (*washī*) material of brocade (*dibādj*) with the woven gold (*al-dhahab al-mansūdj*) and the intermingled ambergris, with beautiful markings (*ḥasan al-tawshī'*) as if it were woven of the blossoms of Spring (*Rabī'*), nor yet transparent *Shinīzī* stuffs like thin air or the mirage, nor napkins (*shustakāt*⁴) which are used for wiping the mouth in polite assemblies, of *kaṣab-linen* of unbleached material with a border (*mu'lam mukhawwam*), nor striped material (*muraiyash*), nor material ornamented (*muwashshā*) with Maghribī (North Afri-

can) gold, nor 'attābī Dabikī with a border, and embroidered with gold (*mu'lam muthakkal*).

Nor do I see in your houses and dwellings, places, the roofs of which have been covered with ebony (*sādj*) and the stairs of which have been adorned with ebony and ivory. . . . Nor do I see your houses with their public rooms furnished with carpets (*zuliya*) of the Maghreb, nor with *Kharshānī* carpets (*ṭinfisa*), nor carpet-strips of Andalus (*nakhākḥ*) and Cordova, and Armenian carpets (*miṭraḥ*), and Rūmī (Byzantine) velvets (*kaṭifa*), and Tustarī cushion (*miḳ'ad*), nor Maghribī carpets (*anṭā'*), nor gold-embroidered pillows (*makhādd mudḥahhaba*) of Dabik, nor square carpets (*ṭarrāḥāt*) of Cyprus, nor *sūsandjird*, nor Abūkalāmūn, and cushions (*numruk*) a house full of which looks like ground covered with flowers.

Nor have you Sāmān or 'Abbadānī mats (*ḥuṣr*) which fold in two as cloth does, lovelier than carpets (*zurbiya*), and softer than Sūs *khazz*-silk, of fine workmanship, perfect craftsmanship and fine weave, and cushions (*dusūt*) of a reddish color (*kushairi*) picked out (*mufassal*) with gold, and cushions (*dusūt*) of *mamzūdj* (mixed) with Iraqi gold, and gold-embroidered brocade (*dibādj muthakkal*), embroidered with pictures of elephant (*mufaiyal*) and horses (*mukḥaiyal*⁵), and carpets (*miṭraḥ*) stuffed with feathers of the Indian bullfinch and Tustar brocade embroidered (*mukhaṣṣab*) with gold.

He again mentions a pillow (*mikhadda*) of *Qubāṭi* stuffed with the feathers of the bullfinch.⁶ *Bukhārī* talks of leather cushions stuffed with palm-fiber.⁷

The *Nuzhat al-Kulūb* mentions several birds whose feathers are used for stuffing and other purposes:

Abū Farāsh is a fowl of beautiful form with long neck and legs, and red beak like a stork. It is colored red and yellow and green and blue, appearing a dif-

¹ Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Hikāyat Abi 'l-Qāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35 ff.

² A conjectural emendation for *سوت*. Mez considers it to be the same as the French *samêt*, the German *samât*.

³ A conjectural emendation for *Dasīsī*.

⁴ A word originally meaning an asbestos napkin, but later applied to any kind of napkin. Cf. Ibn *Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843-71), IV, 375.

⁵ Reading *mufaiyal* for *mufattal*, and *mukḥaiyal* for *muḥaiyil*. Cf. the passages from *Maḳrīzī*, *Khīṭat*, quoted in Chapter XVI (pt. IV), and note 13.

⁶ Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁷ El-Bokhari, *Les Traditions islamiques*, trans. O. Houdas and W. Marçais (Paris, MDCCCIII-XIV), *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=P.E.L.O.V.), IV, 231.

ferent color every season. Abūkalāmūn garments are prepared from its colors. . . . Ḥawāṣīl, Pelican. On its breast is a skin covered with soft down of which they make articles of apparel and its feathers are used for arrows. . . . Farisa (?). On its body are blue feathers which they use for introducing into embroidery (zardūz).⁸

The geographer Ibn al-Faḳīh gives us a list of articles which are only to be obtained by travel in many lands. The following are the textiles which he classes under this category:

Chinese saddles (surūdī), Sābirī shirts (or breast-plates dir'), Chinese curtains (sutūr), the munaiyar garments of Rayy, Kazvin robes, Sa'idī cloth, Yemen cloaks (ḥulla), Egyptian mantles (ridā'), the mulḥam-stuff of Khurasan, Ṭāhirid garments, Andalusian cloaks (ḥulla), Chinese silk (ḥarīr), khazz-silk of Sūs, Tustar brocade, Rūmī buzyūn-brocade, Egyptian linen, figured Kufan washī-stuffs, and the 'attābi of Isfahan.⁹

A very similar list is to be found in Tha'ālībī's *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārīf* where a certain wit at the court of the Buwaihīd 'Aḏud al-Dawla, called Abū Dulaf, replies to the satire of an opponent:

May God shower upon me the striped cloaks (burūd) of Yemen, the ḳaṣab-linen of Egypt (Miṣr), the brocades of Rūm, the khazz-silks of Sūs, the silk (ḥarīr) of China, the robes (akṣiya) of Fars, the cloaks (ḥulla) of Isfahan, the siḳlātūn of Baghdad, the turbans ('imāma) of Ubulla, the Tawwazī-cloth of Tawwadj, the munaiyar stuff of Rayy, the ḥaffī of Nishapur, the mulḥam of Merv, the squirrel-fur of Khirkhīz, the sable of Bulghār, the foxskins of the Khazars, the marten of Kashghar, the ermine of Tughuzghuz, the fine skins of Herat, the trouser-cords of Armenia, the stockings (djawrab) of Kazvin. May God give me the furnishings of Armenian carpets (busuṭ), large carpets (zulliyya) of

Ḳālīkalā, carpets (miṭraḥ) of Maisān, reedmats (ḥuṣur) of Baghdad.¹⁰

Nuwairī seems to derive largely from Tha'ālībī in a chapter entitled "An Account of the Different Articles for Which Certain Countries are Noted."¹¹

With regard to the special products in the way of jewels, one says: 'The turquoises (fairuzaḏī) of Nishapur, the jacinth (yākūt) of Ceylon, the pearls of Oman, the topaz (zabardjad) of Miṣr (Egypt), the chalcedony ('aḳīḳ) of Yemen, the onyx (djaz') of Zafār, and the garnet of Balkh (biḏjādi), and the coral (mardjān) of Ifriḳiya'.

With regard to the special products in the way of clothing (malbūs), one says: The striped cloaks (burūd) of Yemen, the figured stuffs of San'a (washī), the Raiṭ¹² of Syria (Sha'm), the ḳaṣab-linen of Egypt (Miṣr), the brocade of Rūm, the khazz-silk of Sūs, the silk of China, the robes of Fars, the cloaks (ḥulla) of Isfahan, the siḳlātūn of Baghdad, the turbans ('imāma) of Ubulla, the munaiyar of Rayy, the mulḥam of Merv, the trouser-bands (tikka) of Armenia, the kerchiefs (mandil) of Damghan, and the stockings of Kazvin.

With regard to the special products in the way of furs, one says: The squirrel of Khirkhīz, the sable of Bulghār, the foxfur of the Khazars, the marten of Kashghar, the fine skins of Herat, and the ermine of Tughuzghuz.

With regard to the special products in the way of furnishing (fursh) one says: The carpets (busuṭ) of Armenia, the large carpets (zulliyya) of Ḳālīkalā, the carpets (miṭraḥ) of Maisān, and the reedmats (ḥuṣur) of Baghdad.

An earlier author than some of the preceding writers was the writer of belles-lettres known as al-Washshā' (circa 246–325 H. [860–936 A.D.]) who devotes several chapters to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries. The following extracts

⁸ J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī, Or. Trans. Fund* (London, 1928), trans., pp. 62, 69, 83.

⁹ Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

¹⁰ Tha'ālībī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārīf*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

¹¹ Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369. (Nuwairī died in 734 H. [1333 A.D.].)

¹² See this word in the glossary to Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901).

have seemed worthy of presentation as a whole:¹³

SECTION ON THE DRESS OF THE ELEGANT

THE COSTUME AFFECTED BY MEN OF POSITION

You must know that the costume of the elegant, gallant, and cultured man consists of fine shirts (*ghilāla*), and thick shirts (*kamiṣ*) of excellent kinds of linen, soft and pure of colors, such as *Dabikī* and *Djannābī*, and the linings (*mubattānāt*) of *tākhtandj* and raw stuffs (*khāmāt*), shirts (*durra'a*) of *Dārābdjird* and *Iskandari* (Alexandrine stuff), and *mulham* (a stuff with a warp of silk and a woof of some other material), and *khazz-silk*, and *Khurasan* material, linings (*mubattānāt*) of soft *Qūhī* stuff, and *izārs* of *al-kaṣab al-sharb* (some kind of linen stuff,¹⁴), *Aden* cloaks (*ridā'*) with borders (*muḥaṣṣhāt*), *ṭailasān*-hoods (or cloaks) of *Nishapur mulham*, and *Dabikī* of one color (*muṣmata Dabikiya*), *Nishapur* gowns (*djubbā*), and *ṭirāzī* stuff of one color (*muṣmata ṭirāzī*), *Sa'dī* figured *waṣḥī*-stuffs, *Kufan khazz-silk*, *miṭraf*-cloaks of *Sūs*, robes of *Fars*, blue *Ṣulūlī Kūmis*¹⁵ *ṭailasāns*, and all things after this sort. . . .

However it is not considered correct to wear clothes of ugly colors dyed with scent (*ṭib*, or some kind of dye?) and saffron, such as yellow *mulham*, and *Dabikī* impregnated with ambergris, because that is women's apparel, and the dress of dancing-girls and serving-girls . . . that is shirts (*ghilāla*) perfumed with musk and shirts (*kamiṣ*) perfumed with ambergris, cloaks of various colors (*ridā'*), and yellow *izārs*. But, in certain cases, they may use them as coverings (*fursh*), and may even don them at an occasion of revelry and still be considered elegant in them in the salons; they can also wear shoes of them in their houses, though appearance in public in this style is bad form.

The elegant find favor with the affluent and relatives of the caliph. No elegant person or man of taste will permit himself to wear soiled clothing with that which has been washed, nor clothing which has been washed with new garments, nor linen with *Mervian* (cotton) stuff, nor *bābiyāf* (cotton) with

¹³ *Al-Waṣṣhā'*, *Kitāb al-Muwashṣhā*, ed R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124 f.

¹⁴ The insertion of the particle "and" would probably give a better sense, i.e., *sharb*-linen, and *kaṣab*-linen.

¹⁵ Reading *Kūmisī* for *Tūmisī*.

Kūhī stuff either. The best taste in dress is to wear clothes which suit one another, with a graduated range of color, and materials which have something in common and do not clash.

SECTION ON THE TROUSERCORDS, SHOES, AND BOOTS WORN BY THE ELEGANT

They wear *Zandjī* (Negro)¹⁶ shoes (*ni'al*) and thick *Kanbātī* shoes (from *Cambay*), *Yemen* furred (*muṣḥa'ara*) shoes (suede?), fine shoes (*ḥadw*), and the light checked (*mukhattam*) type. The black colored kind can be worn with the red, and the yellow with the black. They wear *Hāshimī* boots and the split shoes of officials (? *al-maksūra al-kut-tābiya*), firm leather, and heavy black leather with stockings (*djawrab*) of *khazz-silk*, goathair (*mir-izzi*), and *khazz-silk*. They buy a red style of boot and a black leather kind (*dārish*).¹⁷ They use trouserbands (*tikka*) of *ibrism-silk*, and *khazz-silk*, and cotton *miṭraf*-cloaks and figured *Armenian* stuffs (*al-manḳūsha al-Armaniya*).¹⁸

SECTION ON FASHIONABLE LADIES, CONCERNING THOSE CLOTHES WHICH DIFFER FROM THOSE OF FASHIONABLE MEN

They wear smoke-colored shirts (*ghilāla dukh-khāniya*), and *Rashidī* cloaks (*ridā'*), and linen with decorated bands on it (*shurūb muzannara*¹⁹), *Ṭabari* cloaks (*ardiya Ṭabariya*), colored *kaṣab*-linen, silk embroidered with round circles (*ḥarir mu'aiyan*), *Nishapur* veils (*miḳna'*), *izārs* of *Khurasan mulham*-stuff, cords for tying the necks of dresses, open sleeves, white trousers with tails, black veils (*mi'djar*) perfumed with hyacinth. They must not wear any trousercords (*tikka*) nor any garment sprinkled (*marshūsh*) (with perfume?), nor perfumed, nor of simple colors, nor any garments of white linen

¹⁶ *Al-Waṣṣhā'*, *op. cit.*, p. 125. I read *Zandjiya* for *Zidjiya*. The text here is dubious being based on a single MS. only. Perhaps the sandals of *Git* in *Tanūkhī*, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara*, *Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, *Or. Trans. Fund* (London, 1921), trans., p. 125, should be *Zandjī* sandals. The Abyssinians were famous for their leather.

¹⁷ Inserting "min."

¹⁸ With the emendation to the text noted in Chapter VI, note 9.

¹⁹ *Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

except that which is colored by nature, or dyed according to its kind, or altered from being exclusively the garb of men with some kind of musk or sandal species (of perfume), or the hyacinth and ambergris species so that the perfume makes them a different kind of garb, seeing that the wearing of white is part of a man's dress. Nor can they wear yellow, black, green, rose-color (muwarrad) or red except that which is by nature yellow, green, blue, rose-colored and red, such as the red silk stuff called *lādh*, silk (*ḥarīr*), *ḳazz*-silk, brocade, figured stuff (*washī*), and *khazz*-silk, because the rose-color, red, and green *Sinīzī*²⁰ are only worn by Nabatean women,²¹ and singing-girls of the slave class. White is considered as the dress of abandoned women. Blue and mourning garments are the colors worn by the bereaved and those in trouble. We have described the best fash-

²⁰ Reading سينيڤي for سينيڤي.

²¹ "Nabatean," according to F. Krenkow, "The Oldest Western Accounts of Chinese Porcelain," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1933), VII, 226-27, when applied to anything means something that is not good, or of an inferior quality. Perhaps the reference is to the Aramean Christian women.

ions, and they do not pass beyond the limits which we have demarcated.

Our author goes on to describe those points of women's dress which differ from men's in the way of trouserbands, boots and shoes, scents, etc.²²

They wear Kanbātī furred (*musha'ara*) painted green-colored shoes, women's shoes (*khifāf zanāniya*²³), and the split (*maksūr*) type, and the Edessa (*Rahāwī*) kind. They wear trousercords of *ibrism*-silk as do men, but they do not also wear, as men do, woven trousercords of brocade, and twisted *sharrāb*-cloths of *ibrism*-silk (*sharrābāt al-ibrism al-maftūla*), and broad belts (*zunnār*). They never wear white nor stuffs with many colors or with stripes for they consider them colors of bad omen. They sometimes also wear silken trouserbands, and cotton *miṭraf*-cloaks.²⁴

²² *Al-Washshā'*, *op. cit.*, p. 127. The text seems corrupt here.

²³ Perhaps *Zandjiya* should be read here as *supra*.

²⁴ Reading المطارف القطنية.

APPENDIX II: KAABA COVERINGS

WÜSTENFELD HAS PUBLISHED AN EXTRACT from an Arab author on the different monarchs and dynasties that gave the Kaaba its annual covering. The importance of this function, implying the sovereignty of the Muslim world, was very great. The manufacture was made in different royal factories at different periods:

"The Kaaba was covered, according to al-Azraqī with various types of coverings, including white Khurasan brocade, and red Khurasan brocade as the author of the *Iḳd* (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi) has recounted. Another kind was the white brocade in the time of al-Ḥākim the Fatimid (al'Ubaidi), and his grandson al-Mustansīr, al-Ṣulaiḥi the ruler of Yemen and Mecca covering it with that material. In the year 466 H. (1073-74 A.D.) it was covered with yellow brocade—this was the covering which the Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Sabuktagin, the ruler of India made. Then Nizām al-Mulk, the vizier of Malikshāh the Seljuk took over this right and despatched the cover-

ing to Mecca, and it was placed over the covering with which Abu 'l-Naṣr al-Astarabādi covered it in the same year. It was covered with a green and black covering. It has continued to be covered with black until the present day, with a yellow *ṭirāz* in it, previously having been white. On the east side, in the year 310 H. (922-23 A.D.) cups (*ḍjāmāt*¹) embroidered in white silk (*ḥarīr*) were introduced into the covering of the Kaaba, but then this was abandoned in the year 815 H. (1412-13 A.D.) and the three following years. Then the white cups were reintroduced in the year 819 H. (1416-17 A.D.) and the five consecutive years. Then that was stopped in the year 865 H. (1460-61 A.D.).

It was covered with cloth of cotton dyed black because it was laid bare by a tempestuous wind which arose in Mecca in the year 643 H. (1245-46 A.D.); this is said to have happened in the year 443 H. (1051-52 A.D.). The Shaikh of the Holy Place (al-Ḥaram),

¹ The text of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Iḳd al-Farīd*, has instead of *ḍjāmāt*, "cups," the word *dārāt*, "circles," which is probably the better reading.

al-'Afif Maṣṣūr ibn Ṣa'ah al-Baġhdādi had nothing to use for a cover for it, so he borrowed three hundred dinars and brought white cloth with it, which he then dyed black and fastened the old ṭirāz-border to it.

Another of those who covered it was Rāmuṣṣṭ, the governor of al-Ribāṭ in Mecca in the year 532 H. (1137-38 A.D.). He covered it with striped cloths (ḥibara) and other materials. According to Ibn al-Aṭṭir, its covering cost 18,000 Egyptian dinars, but others say 4,000.²

² Al-Fa'si, an extract in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857-61), II,

54. For this author see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar-Berlin, 1898-1902) II, 172. For an Ali-ide Kaaba-covering of the year 200 H. (815 A.D.), see Azraqi in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, II, 183. See also Ibn Djubair, *The Travels of Ibn Djubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907) V, 83, 95, 127; J. von Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird* (Leipzig, 1881). For an article on the manufacture of the kiswa or Kaaba-covering, see É. Combe, "Notes d'archéologie musulmane," *Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Archéol. or. du Caire* XVII (1920), 191-206.

APPENDIX III: INDIAN, CHINESE, AND OTHER INFLUENCES

THE TEXTILE TRADE OF INDIA WITH MUSLIM countries was at all times considerable, but it does not come within the scope of this work to deal with Indo-Muslim relations in any detail.

The export of Indian stuffs to Persia, etc., was so much of a commonplace that the Persian poet Minūčihri can talk of "a camel of Multan laden with stuffs for Mecca."¹ Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese expert on the Arab-China trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries tells us concerning Gujrat: "The native products comprise great quantities of indigo, myrolobans, and foreign cotton stuffs of every color. Every year these goods are transported to the Ta-Shī (Arab or Persian) countries for sale."² Marco Polo, too, describes their "cotton-trees" and embroidered-leather work.³ Ibn Ḥawḳal, the anonymous *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, and Idrīsī, all describe the chief port of the northwest of India, Daibul,⁴ a place

now no longer in existence, near one of the mouths of the Indus.⁵ Abu' l-Fidā even attributes a Daibuli stuff (matā') to it.⁶ The same author, on the authority of Bīrūnī mentions a stuff Tānashī⁷ which came from Tāna, near Bombay; both buckram and cotton are noticed by Marco Polo⁸ there.

Both Nuwairī⁹ and Marco Polo¹⁰ talk of the cotton stuffs of Kanbāya (Cambay). We also read of an embassy to the king of Ceylon, including negotiations about trade in the usual things such as brazil-wood (baḳ-ḳam), stuffs (ḳumāsh), and cloth (bazz) and jacinth (yāḳūt).¹¹ With regard to the Sea of

Kramers (2d ed., Leyden, 1938-39), p. 50. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 123. Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836-40), I, 161.

⁵ See J. Horovitz "Daibul," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913-38), I, 896.

⁶ Abu' l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 349, trans. (Paris, 1847-83), II, 111.

⁷ *Ibid.*, text, p. 359, trans., II, 118.

⁸ Yule, *op. cit.*, II, 385.

⁹ Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923-37), I, 237. A chapter here is devoted to India.

¹⁰ Yule, *op. cit.*, II, 388-89.

¹¹ Makrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837-42), II, I, 176.

¹ Minūčihri, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du xi-ème siècle de notre ère*, ed. and trans. by A. de B. Kazimirski (Paris, 1886), trans., p. 249.

² Chau Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 92.

³ H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), II, 383.

⁴ Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H.

Harkand (the Gulf of Bengal), Nuwairi informs us: "There are many islands in it. The inhabitants are the most skilled of people in weaving. They weave a shirt (*ḡamiṣ*) with its two sleeves and seams all in one piece."¹² There are several cities mentioned in India by the *Hudūd al-Ālam* generally for their velvets.¹³ Ibn Baṭūṭa¹⁴ tells of the garments which were called *Shāliyyāt*.¹⁵

More general accounts of the merchandise of India are given by various authors. Ibn Khurdādhbih says: "From India are derived the garments made of grass (*ḡaṣhīṣh*), and cotton garments with a velvety pile (*mukh-mal*."¹⁶ The grass-woven stuffs were found in other parts of the Islamic world also.¹⁷ Of Sind, Maḡdisī says: "In the whole province carpets (*busuṭ*) and that type of article are made, resembling those made in Kuhistan of Khurasan. Many coconuts and lovely garments are brought from it, and from Manṣūra the Kanbāti shoes."¹⁸

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* adds:

The land of India is the country which possesses most rare products which are found there alone. Among those are the elephant, the hippotamus, the panther (*babr*), the peacock, the parrot, the turkey,

¹² Nuwairi, *op. cit.*, I, 241.

¹³ *Hudūd al-Ālam*, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 90.

¹⁴ Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853-59), IV, 108.

¹⁵ Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and trans. by C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861-77), I, 385, and Ibn Ḥawḡal, *Via et regna . . . , Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1873), II, 228, and H. Yule, *op. cit.*, II, 379.

¹⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1889), VI, 51.

¹⁷ Idrisi, *op. cit.*, I, 70.

¹⁸ Maḡdisī (Muḡaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, B.G.A. (Leyden, 1876, 2d ed., 1906), III, 481.

and the birds called *b nā k r k r*, and *sharak* (nightingale), the red jacinth, white sandalwood, ivory, aloes, tutty, cloves, hyacinth, nutmeg, and velvet garments (*ṡhiyāb mukh-mala*), etc. Thus it possesses more special products than Rūm which is only reckoned to have brocade (*dibādī*), soap, terra sigillata (*ṡin makhtūm*), and sundus-brocade which is called *buz-yūn*, and various different kinds of garments."¹⁹

Mustawfi Ḳazwīnī gives Manṣūra, Multan, Lahore, Sulṡāniya, Peshawar, Malikfūr, Ḳuṣdār, Nahrawāla, and Ḳuss as producing great quantities of stuffs for clothes.²⁰ Nuwairi²¹ mentions in his list of the products of the country "velvet garments" (*ṡhiyāb mukh-mala*), muslin (*lānis*²²), and stuffs (*ḡumāsh*).

CHINA

The importation of Chinese silks into Islamic countries was continuous and the authors frequently mention "Chinese silk" (*ḡarir ṡīnī*). While it seems unlikely to me that much chinaware would be brought to Muslim countries by land, owing to the difficulties of transport through Central Asia, the silk certainly did come by that route, as well as by sea, to Baghdad. Many of the stuffs, however, which were called "Chinese silks" came from the neighboring countries and not from China proper. Tibet and Turkestan were sources of such a supply, especially the latter, which was probably less desiccated than today, according to Sir Aurel Stein.

Some records of the Chinese trade with Turkestan and North Persia are to be found in Chavannes' *Documents*.²³ In 719 A.D. the

¹⁹ Tha'alibi, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 125.

²⁰ Mustawfi Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfi Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 252.

²¹ Nuwairi, *op. cit.*, I, 366.

²² See Maḡrizī, *op. cit.*, II, II, 77, and *ibid.*, *Khīṡaṡ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), II, 227.

²³ E. Chavannes, "Documents sur les Tou-kiue

king of Bokhara sent an embassy to the king of China asking for help against the invading Arabs²⁴ sending as presents two mules of Persia, an embroidered cloth of Fu-lin (Byzantium²⁵), thirty pounds of perfume etc. His wife sent two large cloths of "Tcho-Pi," and an embroidered cloth which she gave to the empress. In return he asked for saddles, bridles, tunics, belts, and garments for his wife, the *Khātūn*. According to another passage the king sent his eldest son A-si-lan (Arslān) on this mission, which was another form of trading mission to China.

A few scattered notes—they cannot claim to be more—will be given on the imports of silks from China, for the Arab and Persian writers were usually splendidly vague about the countries east of Transoxiana. Mas'ūdi tells us how the *Khākān* of the Turks gave Kisrā Anūshirwān "a robe of Chinese silk, decorated with gold (*ḥarīr 'asdjādī*) on which there was the picture of a king sitting in his palace (*aiwān*) with his regalia (*ḥulya*), and his crown. At his side were slaves with fans in their hands. The picture was woven (*mansūdī*) with gold. The background (*arḍ*) of the robe was lapis-lazuli (*lāzward*)."²⁶ From

(Turcs) occidentaux," *Academia Scientiarum Imperialis* (St. Petersburg, 1903), VI, 203 and 139. For Chinese sources on western cloth, citing material of a philological nature, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Field Museum of Natural History, Publ. 201 (Chicago, 1919), p. 488 ff., where *dibādī* and *siklātūn* are mentioned.

²⁴ For the history of this area see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia* (London, 1923).

²⁵ *Idem*, "Chinese Records of the Arabs in Central Asia," *Bull. School of Oriental Studies* (London, 1921-3), II, 613-22. In "Documents" Chavannes actually identifies Fu-lin with Syria, but he later again returned to the identification with Byzantium. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, "Iranica," *Abhandl. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 3. Folge, Nr. 10 (Berlin, 1934), 24 ff.

²⁶ Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*, II, 201.

this description the silk in question was of a Sasanian pattern rather than Chinese.

In the second century of the Hijra, *Djāḥiẓ*²⁷ tells us that there came "from China (*Ṣīn*) figured cloth (*firind*), silk (*ḥarīr*), chinaware (*ghaḍā'ir*), paper (*kāghid*) and inks (*midād*)²⁸, peacocks, steeds, mules, saddles and felts." The felts undoubtedly came from the Turkish lands where they were the product par excellence. *Tha'ālibī*²⁹ is probably copying *Djāḥiẓ* when he tells us that "they have figured cloth (*firind*), and painted silk (*ḥarīr madhūn*)³⁰ on which figures are displayed called *kamkhā*. They have waxed (*mushamma'*) waterproof garments which do not get wet in spite of much rain. They have also the coarse napkins (*manādīl al-ghamar*) which, when dirty are thrown into the fire, and become clean and do not burn." He mentions their celebrated felts.

Several cities and islands in the east and in China exporting these silks are mentioned by Idrisi³¹ and Ibn Baṭūṭa also mentions the stuffs of *Thsiuan-tchou-fou* (Arabic *Zaitūn*), stating that: "The *kamkhā* and satin (*aṭlas*) is made there which is better than that of the other towns, and which is called after its name. They are better than the stuffs of *Khansā* and

²⁷ *Djāḥiẓ*, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 341. Besides the Chinese silks mentioned incidentally in the previous chapters of this book, see Sechster Band des *Kitāb Bagdād von Aḥmad ibn abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr*, ed. by H. Keller (Leipzig-Basle 1908), p. 272.

²⁸ The ink mentioned by *Djāḥiẓ* is very likely Chinese ink in blocks with a decorated surface. See Wang Chi-Chen, "Notes on Chinese Ink," *Metro-politan Museum Studies* (New York, 1930-31), III, 144-33.

²⁹ *Tha'ālibī*, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

³⁰ Reading *madhūn* for *madfūn*, but compare the parallel passage in *Tha'ālibī's Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]).

³¹ Idrisi, *op. cit.*, I, 69, 84, 193, 194.

Khānbālik.”³² Marco Polo talks of the *nasich* and *naques* of Cathay.³³

The Muslim attitude toward China has been ably summed up by Schefer:³⁴

Tous les écrivains orientaux qui se sont occupés de la Chine, sont unanimes à vanter l'habileté des Chinois dans toutes les industries, et surtout dans la peinture, la sculpture, et la fabrication des étoffes les plus riches et les plus fines.

Les rapports commerciaux ne furent interrompus ni pendant les troubles qui désolèrent la Chine, ni pendant les guerres qui ensanglantèrent l'Asie centrale à l'époque de la chute de la dynastie des Sāmānides. On voit, en effet, mentionnés dans les anciennes relations les tissus délicats, les ouvrages en ivoire, et les curiosités de la Chine qui étaient importés dans le *Khurāsān*.

He quotes the *Djāmi' al-Hikāyāt* to say that “On trouve chez eux toutes sortes d'étoffes dont quelques-unes sont apportés dans le *Khurāsān*, avec des merveilleuses curiosités.”

TURKESTAN

The Arab and Persian authors sometimes talk of the products of this area imported from early times. Ya'kūbī remarks that “the Turks are the most skilled people in the manufacture of felts (*lubūd*) because that is what they wear.”³⁵ Speaking of the Khazar country, *Iṣṭakhri* adds:³⁶ “Nothing is brought to it which is imported to all provinces apart from furs.”³⁷ As for the quicksilver, honey,

wax, silk (*khazz*) and skins (*wabar*), they are imported there. The clothes of the Khazars and the neighboring lands consist of tunics (*kurṭaq*) and cloaks (*qabā'*), for they possess no clothing (of their own) which is only brought to them from the districts of *Djurdjān*, *Ṭabaristān*, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and *Rūm*.” *Al-Nasawī*³⁸ enumerates such products of the Turks as ingots of precious metals, rhinoceros horns (*khutū*³⁹), musk, jasper (*yashab*), stuffs called *Ṭ rḳuwā* made with the wool of white camels, each piece being worth fifty dinars or more.

Of Kashghar, a Chinese traveler of 629 A.D. informs us: “Its manufactures are a fine kind of twill haircloth and carpets of a fine texture, and skilfully woven.”⁴⁰ Marco Polo, centuries later, remarks on its cotton, and *Khutan* had much cotton flax and hemp.⁴¹ The manufactures of the latter city according to our Chinese traveler were “carpets, hair-cloth of a fine quality, and fine woven silk fabrics.”⁴² *Narshakhī* remarks that “there is a great trade in *Khutan* in *ibrism-silk* and muslin (*kir-bās*).”⁴³

TIBET

According to the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, by the term Tibet, the Arab authors usually meant Little Tibet or *Baltistān*. Occasionally

³² Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, IV, 269.

³³ Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 276.

³⁴ C. Schefer, “Notice sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois depuis l'extension de l'islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV siècle,” *P.E.L.O.V.*, *Centenaire de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, 1795-1895* (Paris, 1895), p. 8.

³⁵ Ya'kūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 295.

³⁶ *Iṣṭakhri*, *Viae regnorum . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 223.

³⁷ Reading *فرو*. Cf. Yākūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-73), II, 438.

³⁸ Muhammad al-Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and trans. by O. Houdas, *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=P.E.L.O.V.), III, IX, text, p. 33, X, trans., p. 57.

³⁹ This seems to apply here to Mammoth ivory from Siberia, but Muslim authors are indefinite as to the precise nature of this substance.

⁴⁰ Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. by S. Beal (London, 1884), I, 306.

⁴¹ Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 188, 196.

⁴² Hiuen Tsiang, *op. cit.*, I, 309.

⁴³ *Narshakhī*, *Tārīkh-i-Bukhārā, Description topographique et historique de Boukhara*, ed. C. Schefer, *P.E.L.O.V.* (Paris 1892), III, XIII, p. 269.

we hear of articles of merchandise coming from this country in such works as the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, etc., notably musk. Idrīsī states that: “It has relations with Ferghana and But-tam and the subjects of the *Khākān*. . . . They make a great number of objects there and export robes, the stuffs of which the tissue is thick, coarse and lasting. Each of these robes costs a considerable sum, for its silk is of a red color.”⁴⁴

WESTERN INFLUENCES

Byzantine and European stuffs penetrated into Russia, and thus by devious routes to the more central parts of Asia, and perhaps even to China. Though it is not intended to examine this trade, the following passage from *Gharnāṭī’s Tuḥfat al-Albāb* may prove of interest. He talks of the *Nāmush* (Austrians or Germans) saying:

Linen cloth (*ṭhiyāb al-kattān*), the like of which is not found in the world is made in their country, a single piece (*ṭhawb*) being a hundred *dhirā’* or more.

⁴⁴ Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 493. Cf. Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A‘lāk al-Nafisa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 142 ff., and Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 215.

The beginning, end and middle (of the cloth) are the same without a single thread differing. They are taken to the Slav lands, and called *Rūmī* linen. The Russians live in the Slav country. In *Rūmiya* (Rome ?) colored woollen garments, better than the *Rūmī* brocade, are made. A *dhirā’* is worth a dinar there. In spite of their smoothness and softness, rain does not penetrate them, and their lovely color of a blood-red is dyed with *ķirmiz* (*qermes*). There is a creature which descends from the sky at a certain time in Autumn upon the oak-tree like the red evil-smelling ant which one sees in houses, red and small like the seed of the Syrian carob, with an unpleasant odor like the *ķirmiz*. This latter is also red like the ant, and wool and ibrisim-silk are dyed with it, but not cotton or linen, nor anything of the vegetable kind, but only what is connected with animals.⁴⁵

This passage seems obscure:

*Yākūt*⁴⁶ tells us that the Russians (*Rūs*) covered a dead chieftain with cushions (*muḍarrabāt*) of *Rūmī* brocade and pillows (*misnad*) of the same material.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ “*Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-*Gharnāṭī*,” ed. and (partially) trans. by G. Ferrand, *Journ. Asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 198.

⁴⁶ *Yākūt*, *op. cit.*, II, 837.

⁴⁷ For the products of Turkestan see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1928), n.s., V, 283–84.

APPENDIX IV: EARLY TRADE ROUTES

THE IMPORTANCE OF RAYY AS A COMMERCIAL center was so great that Ibn al-Faḳīh,¹ quoting an earlier author, Muhammad ibn Ishāḳ, devotes a long passage to describing the various routes of merchants, trading with it:

Rayy has a good climate, splendid buildings; it is an entry for merchants, and a resort of the opulent. It is the bride of the world, the highway of the earth, and the intermediary for Khurasan, *Djurdjān*, Iraq, and *Ṭabaristān*. To it come the wares (*tiḍjārāt*) of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Khurasan, the Khazars, and the land of *Burdjān*, because the sea-traders travel

from East to West, and from West to East, bearing brocade and fine *khazz*-silk from *Firandja* (France or the Franks) to al-Faramā. They go to sea at *Ḳulzum* (on the Red Sea) and take all this to China (*Ṣin*), bringing cinnamon, swallow-wort (*māmīrān*), and all Chinese ware to *Ḳulzum*, then they make for al-Faramā. They are Jewish merchants called *Rāhdāniya* (Guides, or “those skilled in the ways”), speaking Persian, Greek (*Rūmī*), Arabic, and Frankish. They come forth from al-Faramā and sell the musk, aloes-wood and all the goods of the Franks they have with them. Then they go to Antioch, thence to Baghdad, then *Ubullā*.

As for the traders of the Slavs (*Ṣaḳāliba*), they take fox and beaver skins from the most distant Slav territory and come to the Roman Sea and the king of Byzantium (*Rūm*) imposes the duty of ten per

¹ Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 270–71.

cent on them. Then they go by sea to Samkūsh of the Jews.² Then they return to the Slavs or else they go from the Slav Sea in the river which is called Nahr al-Ṣakālība (the Don) until they come to Khamlidj al-Khazar (Read Khamlidj) where the king of the Khazars imposes a duty of ten per cent on them. Then they go to the Sea of Khurasan (The Caspian). Sometimes they land at Djurdjān and sell all they have with them, so that all of it comes to Rayy.

A fuller version of this, obviously using the same source even though no acknowledgment is made, in the customary fashion of Arab authors, is to be found in Ibn Khurdābih:³

THE ROUTE OF THE JEWISH RĀHDĀNĪYA MERCHANTS

They speak Arabic, Persian, Greek (Rūmiya), Frankish, Spanish, and Slav. They journey from East to West, and from West to East by land and sea, importing from the West slaves, girls and boys, brocade, beaver skins, furs, sables (sammūr), and swords. They journey from France (Firanḍja) in the Western Sea and come out at al-Faramā, carrying their wares on the backs of animals to Kulzum, a distance of twenty-five parasangs. Then they travel on the Eastern Sea from Kulzum to al-Djār and Djudda. Afterwards they proceed to Sind, Hind and China. From China they bring musk, aloeswood, camphor, cinnamon, and other kinds of things brought from those countries, travelling until they return to Kulzum, then they carry it over to al-Faramā. After this they put to sea in the Western Sea, sometimes turning to Constantinople with their wares so as to sell them in Byzantium (Rūm); sometimes they

travel with them to the kingdom of France (Firanḍja) and sell them there. If they wish they take their wares from France on the Western Sea and disembark at Antioch, travelling by land for three stages to al-Djabīya.⁴ After this they travel on the Euphrates to Baghdad, then on the Tigris to Ubulla, from Ubulla to Oman, Sind, Hind, and China in succession.

THE ROUTE OF THE TRADERS OF THE RŪS

They are a branch of the Slavs, and they carry beaver and black fox-skins, and swords from the furthest Slav territory to the Roman Sea where the king of Byzantium (Rūm) imposes a duty of ten per cent upon them. If they travel on Tanais (the Don) the river of the Slavs, they pass Khamlidj, the town of the Khazars, and their ruler imposes a tax of ten per cent on them. Then they journey to the Sea of Djurdjān (The Caspian), disembarking on whichever part of its coasts they wish, the coast of this sea being five hundred parasangs. Sometimes they take their wares from Djurdjān by camel-transport to Baghdad. The Slav servants interpret for them and pretend to be Christians, and they pay the poll-tax.

THEIR ROUTE BY LAND

The outward-bound voyager goes from Spain or from France, crossing to al-Sūs al-Aḡṣā (in the Maghreb), then travels to Tandja (Tangier), then Ifrikiya (Kairawān), then Egypt, Ramle, Damascus, Kufa, Baghdad, Basra, Ahwāz, Fars, Kerman, Sind, Hind, and then to China.

Sometimes they take the way behind Byzantium (Rūm) into the Slav country, then to Khamlidj, the capital of the Khazars. Then they travel to the Sea of Djurdjān, then to Balkh and Transoxiana, and then to Wurut (Yurt) of the Tughuzghuz, then to China.

⁴ A word of uncertain reading.

² de Goeje reads here "Samkaras" (سَمَكَرَس) (?), the Hebrew סמכרין.

³ Ibn Khurdābih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1889), VI, text, p. 133 ff., trans., p. 114 ff.